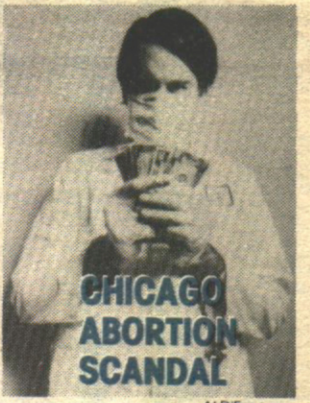


IN THESE TIMES



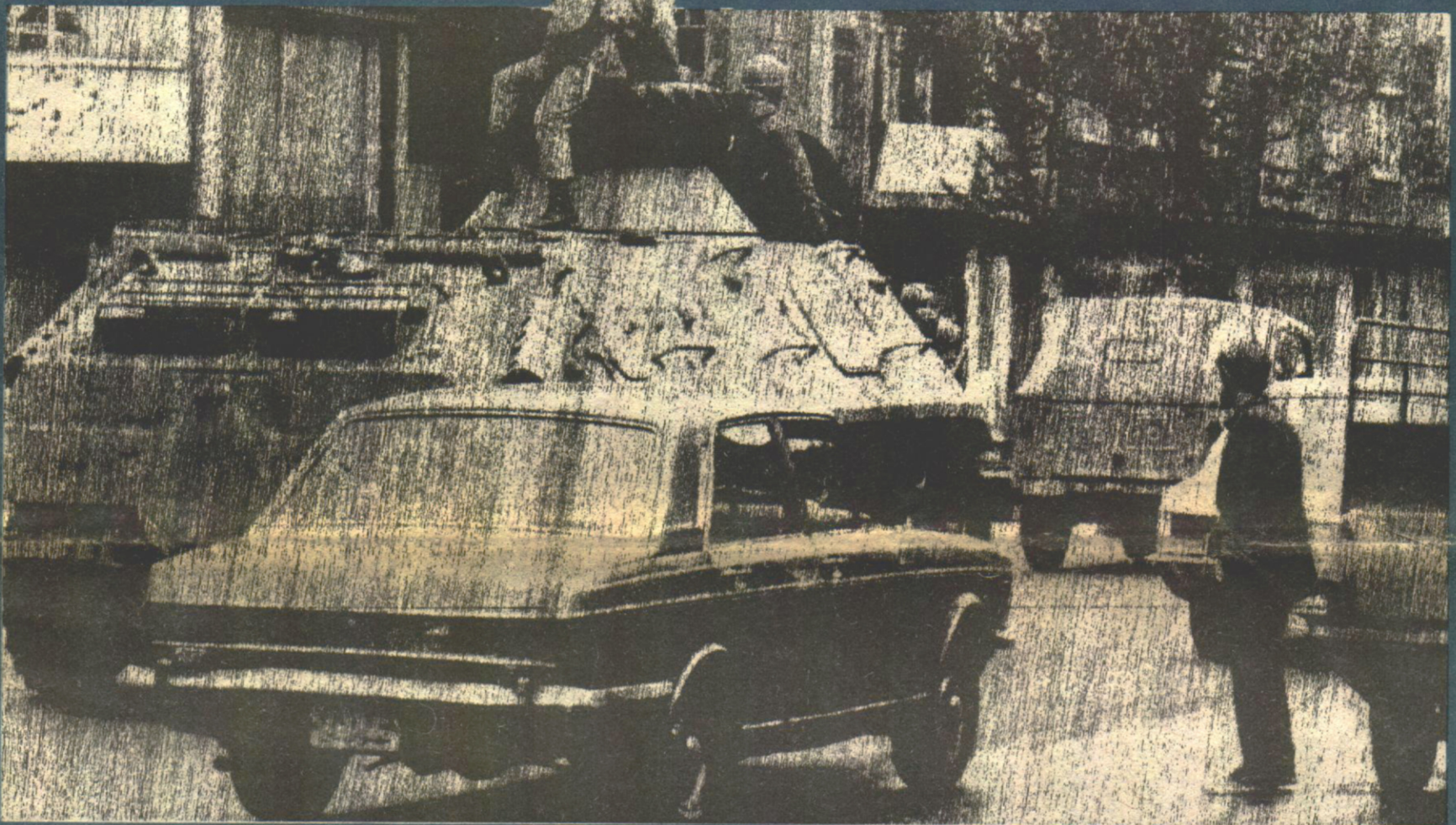
Al DiFranco

Vol. 3, No. 2

Nov. 22-28, 1978

50 Cents

IRAN



Peter Simon

Uprisings threaten shah, confound U.S.

Jamaica
The other socialist island



THE INSIDE STORY

J O H N J U D I S



Democratic liberals like Wendell Anderson (above) beat the undertaker to the grave.

G.O.P. revives, liberals expire

As the election results came in, I thought of what politics was like in the 1920s: the disintegration of the socialist left, the decline of the labor movement, the twilight ascendancy of laissez-faire Republicanism, the ludicrous complacency to be followed by grim panic and the destruction of all things sacred.

Would the Crash of '79 wreak the same revenge on the Jack Kemps, Roger Jepsens, Jerry Browns, and Jimmy Carters? I hoped so.

In the 1978 elections, the party system continued to decline. The Democrats continued to absorb would-be Republicans. The electorate, given less of a choice than ever, continued to decline—from 38 percent in 1974 to 36 percent in 1978.

There were, however, two surprises. The Republicans, who were expected to disappear, showed some signs of life; and the liberal Democrats, who were eventually expected to disappear, beat the undertakers to the grave.

GOP victories.

In winning 12 House seats and three Senate seats, the Republicans fell far short of the 34 House seats and four Senate seats that an opposition party is supposed to win during a mid-term election. The Democrats also kept 27 of the 33 House seats they had gained during the '70s in traditionally Republican districts.

But, in several respects, the Republicans did rebound from their collapse in 1974. They recaptured 300 seats in state legislatures and increased from eight to 12 the number of state legislatures in which they are the majority. And they showed surprising strength in the Midwest, which used to be the Republican heartland, and the South, which must contain at least a Republican artery if the party is to survive.

In the Midwest, the GOP won eight out of nine governor's races. Along with the governorships in Texas and Pennsylvania, these statehouses will give the GOP new clout in the 1980 elections and the schedule of legislative reapportionment.

In the South, among other achievements, the Republicans won county offices and the governorship in Texas; the Senate seat (first since Reconstruction) and two House seats in Mississippi; a House seat in Arkansas (the second since Reconstruction); and a Senate and two House seats in South Carolina.

The Republican victories preserved the party as a coalition between Midwest moderates like governors Robert Ray (Iowa) and James Milliken (Mich.) and Sen. Charles Percy (Ill.) and outright reactionaries like Senators-elect Gordon Humphrey from New Hampshire and Roger Jepsen from Iowa and Texas Governor-elect Bill Clements. But gone down in defeat were two of the last Republican liberals—Clifford Case from New Jersey,

who lost in the primary, and Edward Brooke from Massachusetts. Only New York's Jacob Javits remains, and he is expected to retire in 1980.

Retreat from liberalism.

The Democrats did fairly well. But the liberal Democrats—e.g., Dick Clark (Iowa), Floyd Haskell (Colo.), William Hathaway (Mo.), Wendell Anderson (Minn.), Robert Cornell (Wisc.)—did not; and liberalism as a philosophy fared still worse. It was abandoned even by its proponents.

Since the '30s, liberals have been those who favored government action to alleviate the injustices of capitalism. Liberals spoke for minorities and organized workers who depended on government action for their survival, whether for welfare checks or for safety inspections in a plant.

But since the 1974 recession, if not earlier, liberals have had to choose between those constituencies who wanted tax relief and those who wanted more social services. With slowed growth and spiraling inflation, it seemed to many of them that they had to cut spending or at least not rapidly increase it. They hoped, however, to preserve their labor and minority constituencies through less costly favors—judicial appointments, non-spending bills, and rhetorical support.

Jerry Brown made this strategy work in California, and Jimmy Carter has tried to adopt it nationally.

In the 1978 elections, some liberals tried to tough it out, but most adopted some version of this strategy. They either opted openly for fiscal conservatism, like Colorado congressman Tim Wirth or Oklahoma Senator-elect David Boren, or they tried to steer the public discussion away from economic issues altogether, like Michigan Senator-elect Carl Levin. (When Levin was finally trapped into saying what his goal as senator would be, he responded: "I would like to be remembered as sponsor of a bill which provided a broad legislative veto over the regulations and bureaucracies of this country.")

Defeated by low turnouts.

But whatever they did, these Democrats found themselves trapped. If they pushed labor's rights and social spending, they risked the ire of that wide expanse of white-collar suburbia, which presently believes that only government stands in the way of their happiness. If they abandoned liberal programs, they might not get enough votes among labor and minorities to counteract those that would naturally go to Republicans.

Texas Democratic congressman Robert Gammage of Houston typified this dilemma. His district is split politically between low-income whites and minorities on the one hand, and upwardly mobile white suburbanites. As a state senator, Gammage championed labor and minority causes. In 1975, he barely lost a congressional by-election to Republican Ron Paul. In 1976, with twice the turnout, he beat Paul.

In 1978, Gammage retreated from his liberal stands and angered local labor and minority leaders. The turnout was abysmal, just as in 1975, and Paul upset him.

A similar fate befell Green Bay, Wisc., Democratic congressman Robert J. Cornell, who lost a close race to Republican Tobias Roth. *Congressional Quarterly* reports that there were 42,000 less Democratic votes in this election than in Cornell's 1976 election victory, and only 5,000 less Republican votes.

In some of the senatorial upsets, Republicans were able to use expensive phone-banks and direct mail to mobilize their supporters, while the Democratic candidates were unable to inspire theirs.

Iowa Senator Dick Clark was victimized by an anti-abortion campaign that lost him votes among Dubuque and Western Iowa Catholic Democrats and also by the unpopularity of Carter farm policies. But the *Des Moines*

Register ranks the unusually high Republican turnout, which resulted from a "grass roots" effort, and the low Democratic one as the most important reason for his defeat. While the Democrats held a 33-to-29 percent registration edge, the *Register* found that 34 percent of the actual voters were registered Republicans. They also found higher vote percentages in Republican rural areas than in Democratic cities. Among voters-under-29, most of whom supported Clark, they found a 16 percent turnout.

Unsolid South.

The immediate future of American politics rests, largely, with the South. On a simple political level, the Republicans can threaten Democratic presidential supremacy if they can build a base in the South. But on a deeper level, the South poses most clearly the problem that Democrats face.

In two Mississippi races—the senate race and the Jackson congressional race—black independents ran. Charles Evers, the black Senate candidate, ran a fairly opportunistic race, trying to attract white votes with anti-welfare, anti-integration rhetoric, while reportedly telling black leaders that he meant nothing of the kind. Congressional candidate Evan Doss ran a left-wing campaign, supporting full employment legislation and opposing right-to-work.

These candidates were representing a large voting bloc that might otherwise not have turned out. The result was that the percentage of voters went up from 26.6 percent in 1974 to 50 percent in 1978.

In the Senate campaign, Democrat Maurice Dantin ran a typical no-issue, nice guy campaign, while his opponent Thad Cochran ran as a hard-hitting conservative. In the Congressional race, Democrat John Hampton Stennis Jr. abandoned his earlier populist stance in favor of an appeal to the same white conservative vote that his Republican opponent Jon Hinson was trying to attract.

In both races, the black independents split the Democratic vote and allowed the Republican to win easily. Cochran got 45 percent of the vote to Dantin's 32 percent and Evers' 23 percent. In Jackson's black precincts, Evers got 91.36 percent of the vote. In the Congressional race, Hinson got 54 percent, Stennis got 27 percent, and Doss got 19 percent.

In both cases, the Democrat ensured his defeat by abandoning black voters. Of course, Stennis might not have won even if he had come to terms with Doss' politics and constituency. Like Gammage's Houston district, the Jackson district is split between a 45 percent minority population and a white-collar upwardly mobile white population. But at least he would have had a chance.

For Mississippi Democrats there are only two alternatives: develop a politics that somehow includes both minority needs and those of lower-income and middle-class whites or attempt to beat Republicans like Hinson or Cochran at their own game. When the Republican players are inept or poorly financed, the Democrats might win. But when they are excellent well-financed campaigners like Hinson, Cochran, Bill Clements or Colorado's Senator-elect William Armstrong, the Democrat will often find him or herself the loser.

But again, Mississippi only exemplified a situation that prevailed throughout the country in the 1978 elections. With the liberal Democrats and Republicans having fallen by the wayside, Republican and Democratic candidates often found themselves taking similar positions and employing similar rhetoric. The only contest was between their media consultants.

This is a sorry situation, but one that will last as long as economic circumstances and self-serving politicians lead working Americans to look along widely divergent paths for their economic well-being. ■

IN THESE TIMES

THE INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

Published 50 times a year: weekly except for the fourth week of July and the fourth week of December by New Majority Publishing Co., Inc. 1509 North Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60622, (312) 489-4444, TWX: 910-221-5401, Cable: THESE TIMES, Chicago, Illinois.

EDITORIAL

James Weinstein, *Editor*, M.J. Sklar, *Associate Editor*, John Judis, *Foreign News Editor*, Patricia Aufderheide, *Cultural Editor*, David Moberg, *National Affairs*, Diana Johnstone (*Paris*), Mervyn Jones (*London*), Bruce Vandervort (*Geneva*), *Foreign Correspondents*, Ron Williams, *Editorial Assistant*, Steve Rosswurm, *Librarian*, Ken Ratner, *Proof-reader*.

ART

Kerry Tremain, *Director*, Tom Greensfelder, *Associate Director*, Nori Davis, *Assistant Director*, Jim Rinnert, *Composition*, Pam Rice, *Camera*, Ken Firestone, *Photographer*.

BUSINESS

William Sennett, James Weinstein, *Co-Publishers*, Richard Goldensohn, *Executive Publisher*, Ellen Deirdre Murphy, *Advertising/Business*, Jan Czarnik, Pat Vandermeer, *Circulation*.

BUREAUS

SOUTHERN: Jon Jacobs, 830 W. Peachtree St., Suite 110, Atlanta, GA 30308 (404) 881-1689. NEW YORK: George Carrano, Jon Fisher, 784 Columbus Ave., New York, NY 10025, (212) 865-7638. BOSTON: Sid Blumenthal, 123 Oxford St., Cambridge, MA 02140, (617) 864-8689. CALIFORNIA: Larry Remer, 3609 4th St., San Diego, CA 92103, (714) 225-1128.

SPONSORS

Robert Allen, Julian Bond, Noam Chomsky, Barry Commoner, Al Curtis, Hugh DeLacy, G. William Domhoff, Douglas Dowd, David Du Bois, Barbara Ehrenreich, Daniel Ellsberg, Frances Putnam Fritchman, Stephen Fritchman, Barbara Garson, Eugene D. Genovese, Emily Gibson, Michael Harrington, Dorothy Healey, David Horowitz, Paul Jacobs (1918-1978), Ann J. Lane, Elinor Langer, Jesse Lemisch, Salvador Luria, Staughton Lynd, Carey McWilliams, Herbert Marcuse, David Montgomery, Carlos Munoz, Harvey O'Connor, Jessie Lloyd O'Connor, Earl Ofari, Seymour Posner, Ronald Radosh, Jeremy Rifkin, Paul Schrade, Derek Shearer, Stan Steiner, Warren Susman, E.P. Thompson, Naomi Weinstein, William A. Williams, John Womack Jr.

The entire contents of IN THESE TIMES is copyright ©1978 by New Majority Publishing Co., Inc., and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission from the publisher. All rights reserved. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. Subscriptions, address changes, and adjustments should be sent to IN THESE TIMES, P.O. Box 228, Westchester, IL 60153. Subscriptions are \$17.50/year. Advertising rates sent on request. All letters received by IN THESE TIMES become the property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Second class postage paid at Chicago, Illinois.

IN THESE TIMES

A crisis for American policy

By Alexander Cockburn
and James Ridgeway

DESPITE THE LAST DESPERATE hope of hardline military rule in Iran imposed Nov. 6, the prospect of a downfall of the shah is being viewed with horror in Washington and in Wall Street. There is little optimism in either quarter for the chances of his long-term survival as an all-powerful autocrat.

Harsh military rule marks the shah's failure to get an opposition group to form a government or to participate in one. The shah's announcement of military rule on Iran radio was apologetic and defensive. He conceded that most of the strikes were justified and that torture and corruption had prevailed.

Particularly troubling to the upper echelons of the American government is the seeming impossibility of effective intervention. The present popular upsurge is very different from the one in 1953 when less than \$100,000 in CIA funds and a few agents headed by Kermit Roosevelt could turn the tide against Mohammed Mossadegh and restore the Peacock Throne. The enormous expansion of the officer corps has impeded reliable intelligence on its varying political aspirations, and the soldiers themselves are less likely to support the shah. It should be remembered that the demonstrations of the last few months have all taken place under martial law.

Whatever the short-term course in Iran, the crisis there has already triggered spasms throughout the world. These include:

- An immediate increase in the world price of oil, with the likelihood of a permanent OPEC hike, ratified when its member countries meet in Abu Dhabi next month. This price hike could speed recession in the industrialized countries, as the hike and embargo of 1973 did.

- A serious blow to the U.S. and the dollar. Right now the high price of oil from Iran is offset by the shah's huge arms purchases, mainly from American corporations. These sales, under pressure for the last few months, now hang in the balance. American economic involvement in Iran is immense. Over a quarter of all current arms sales from American companies are earmarked for Iran. As of the end of 1977, American banks held \$2.2 billion in loans to Iran, of which \$1 billion was due in one year or less. This does not include bank loans to American corporations meeting contracts to Iran.

- Threats to the fuel supplies of South Africa, Israel and Japan.

- The possibility of a major geo-political set-back for the U.S. While President Carter was exulting in the Camp David agreement forging peace between Israel and Egypt, the entire map of the Mideast and Asia, between the Indus and the Mediterranean, was changing in a manner contrary to American interests.

The strike by Iranian technicians in the fields of Khuzestan province has already cut the flow of crude to the shipping terminal on Kharg Island from 5.5 million barrels a day to 700,000 as of early November. The strike involves some 19,000 workers in the oil fields and several local tanker pilots, thereby stranding 20 to 30 tankers awaiting cargo off Kharg Island.

To put the situation in clearer perspective: Iran's oil output amounts to a little less than a quarter of total OPEC production, which in September was near peak capacity of 32 million barrels a day. The heavy demand stemmed from winter stocking requirements and also hedges against a likely 10 percent price rise in December. Even though this seasonal demand may abate, there will not be enough slack to fill the deficit from Iran.

The result of the shut-down is to short-



Iranian students demonstrate against the shah during a visit of President Carter to Chicago.

Obstacles to intervention on behalf of the shah frighten American policy makers, who once could defend or overthrow governments with ease.

en supply and consequently drive up prices. Just as in 1973, it is a boon for the oil companies who have been experiencing a surplus. Mexico, which has been reporting large reserves in recent months, was already hammering out supply agreements to Japan, hitherto an important Iranian customer.

The supply crisis in Iran will last as long as the political crisis. The oil workers in Khuzestan—many of them trained abroad and earning middle class incomes—are demanding political concessions from the shah's regime. They are also vociferously opposed to foreign technicians, thus rendering it impossible for the companies to risk restoring total production with technicians from outside Iran.

By December the pressure on Saudi Arabia to endorse a large rise in prices, intensified by the slide of the dollar, will probably be irresistible. These price rises will have serious consequences—psychological as well as real—for the developed nations of the West. Since the 1973 embargo, the chief complaint by the Europeans against the Americans has been that something had to be done to curb U.S. imports of expensive OPEC oil. The energy legislation was a gesture to these critics. The reality now is that more, not less, money will go to OPEC.

Since the oil embargo, the outflow of dollars to OPEC has been largely offset by an equation in which the role of the shah has been pre-eminent. The dollars that went to Iran in payment for oil were returned in payment for American arms and military services. This trade had the strategic purpose of bolstering the might of Iran as the main American ally and the dominant force in the area.

The arms trade has grown to an enormous scale. In fiscal year 1978 the U.S. Defense Department sponsored foreign military sales of \$13.5 billion to all nations. Of that total, Iran accounted for \$2.6 billion, or 19.1 percent. In terms of

actual undelivered orders now pending from U.S. companies the total world-wide is \$44.1 billion. Of that sum, Iran's portion is \$12.1 billion, or 27.4 percent.

Already the beleaguered shah is canceling contracts. The consequences are not hard to perceive. Among the major deals presently in train are: an order by the shah for 68 Grumman F-14 planes, worth \$12 million each. In a contract worth \$2.4 billion Iran has ordered 160 F-16s from General Dynamics which now is in the same gloomy state as Grumman. This gloom is shared by Boeing, which has contracted with Iran to supply 10 E3A AWACS planes (essentially an airborne communications, command and control system) at \$102 million each, plus training costs.

The list of forward contracts is lengthy: four destroyers from Litton at \$338 million; a long-term joint venture between Iran and Bell, Textron's subsidiary, for the supply of helicopters for a variety of military needs. From several different U.S. companies Iran is purchasing tanks, missiles, howitzers, armored personnel carriers and the essential craft for a new navy.

The supply of arms is only half the story. With each shipment of sophisticated hardware went the all-important U.S. technicians and training personnel to train the shah's forces in handling the material. This was no easy job. Iranian pilots have been crashing Phantoms at the rate of two a month, since the few qualified aviators had been moved on to the more sophisticated F-14s. As long ago as 1975, it was costing Iran \$9,000 per man per month for the 20,000 technicians involved in installation and training of defense hardware: a bill of \$2.16 billion in all.

For other countries, the prospects for an interruption in trade with Iran are equally dire. Aside from specific defense sales, to take one example, the shah—despite his bountiful supplies of natural

gas—launched himself in 1974 on the nuclear path. Four power plants are now being built by the West Germans and the French at a cost of \$10 billion. The remaining 16—from West Germany's Kraftwerk Union—will probably be cancelled.

Three nations may be especially hard-hit by the Iranian oil shut-off. The first is South Africa, a country which produces almost no oil of its own. But 20 percent of its overall energy need is furnished by oil, and some 90 percent of this oil comes from Iran.

Even without the possibility of a UN embargo of oil supplies South Africa now faces a calamity: expensive purchases of scarce oil on the spot market, with corresponding drain on gold reserves. This pressure will have a redoubled effect in Rhodesia, whose oil supplies are smuggled through South Africa. Scarcity of oil, crucial to transportation in South Africa, has evident military consequences.

Israel also relies on Iran for more than half its oil supplies. If Iranian supplies are cut off, Israel's reliance on other foreign sources will be doubled. Producers such as Mexico may take up some of the slack, but the real pressure will be on Egypt, whose bargaining power in the final stages of the Camp David agreements has thus been abruptly increased.

The Japanese, who in 1973 drew 40 percent of their supplies from Iran, have had the foresight to diversify their sources. Only 19.5 percent of the country's needs now come from Iran. Even so, Japan—which has 90 days supply of oil—is already experiencing constriction.

On the diplomatic front, the present collapse of the shah has equally dire consequences. Since the start of the cold war Iran has been perceived by one administration after the other as the pillar of U.S. foreign policy in the Mideast. It is an extraordinary irony that at the very moment President Carter is hailing the onset of peace in the area—superintended by the U.S.—the American position of dominance is being threatened. It had always been the view of critics of Camp David that a separate peace between Israel and Egypt might be palatable domestically (in all three countries) but could have most unpleasant consequences elsewhere. The consequences are rapidly becoming apparent: friendly relations between Syria and Iraq (which is a major oil supplier and which has a large army); the increasing caution of King Hussein to-

Continued on page 20.

IN THE NATION



Dick Clark, the liberal Democrat defeated in Iowa.

FOREIGN POLICY

Cold warriors get a big boost from the elections

By Alan Wolfe

THE REAL LOSER IN THE 1978 U.S. elections was the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT) with the Russians. Ironically, although the election was fought out almost entirely over matters of domestic concern—SALT was rarely mentioned, let alone debated—the chief impact will be on American foreign policy.

Before the Vietnam war, Congress played a passive role in foreign policy, refusing to examine either the premises or the conduct of the executive branch. All this changed when the war began to come home. Limitations on the President's ability to wage war began with the Cooper-Church Amendment that restricted the use of U.S. troops in Cambodia and continued through 1978 as the African Affairs Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, chaired by Sen. Clark of Iowa, continued to check the ability of the Carter administration to intervene in Africa.

Symbolically, two 1978 elections indicate the shape of things to come. In a New Jersey primary held earlier this year, Clifford Case, who played a key role in the earlier assertion of senatorial authority, lost his party's nomination. And in the general election, Sen. Clark, perhaps the most intelligent and informed of the new breed of foreign policy-oriented senators—went down to defeat at the hands of a conservative Republican named Roger Jepsen. One lesson will undoubtedly be read by politically sensitive Senators; it doesn't pay to question the cold war assumptions of American foreign policy.

In New Jersey, Case was eventually replaced by a liberal, Bill Bradley, so that there will be little change in that seat when it comes to foreign policy. But elsewhere the change is drastic.

Besides Clark, four other crucial supporters of a relaxation of the Cold War were defeated by right-wing Republicans: Thomas McIntyre (NH), William Hathaway (ME), Floyd Haskell (CO) and Wendell Anderson (MN). In addition, liberal South Dakota Sen. James Abourezk retired and was eventually replaced by a Republican named Larry Pressler.

The party shift in the senatorial elections was a net gain of three for the Republicans, but on the question of the cold war, the shift in favor of "a firm stand against the Russians" was twice that; six new hawks have replaced doves in this election.

On treaty ratifications, a two-thirds vote of approval is required. Keeping in mind that the Panama Treaty was ratified by a margin of only one vote, then a shift of six seats has drastic immediate implications for treaties like SALT.

But more important for the long run, senators have a knack of watching the returns in one election so as to be prepared for the next one. These results will be interpreted by many moderates as a sign that the voters prefer a backward direction in foreign policy, so that the ultimate effects of the election will be felt far beyond a change of six seats.

Whatever moves had been made in the direction of arms control and reductions in the military budget will probably be set aside by a defense-oriented Congress. Bellicose demands for intervention will multiply. Carter, reading the returns, will attempt to prove to an aggressive Con-

gress that he can be more aggressive than it. And even when Carter is forced by circumstances beyond his control to be "moderate"—such as in bringing the SALT treaty up for ratification—he will do so by finding compromises pleasing to the right, the same tactic he was forced to use in obtaining ratification of the Panama Treaty.

Little change in domestic policy.

The peculiar thing is that even though the results point toward a resumption of cold war hawkishness, that issue was never up for a vote in the election. Overwhelmingly, people were concerned with domestic issues: taxes, inflation, and a sense that politicians are unconcerned with their needs.

Yet little change in the domestic realm will occur. Most government spending is mandated by previous legislation that cannot be repealed without stirring up an awful fuss. In addition, spending programs create their own constituencies, and when it comes to reducing expenditure, Congress members will find their hands tied by demanding interest groups.

In other words, the electorate demanded a change in domestic political life and will get none, while they did not demand changes in U.S. foreign policy but may get plenty.

What it all comes down to is that the increase in cold war hostility will become, in a sense, part of domestic policy. The situation facing a typical senator is roughly as follows: the people are angry; the people demand action; action on concrete policy proposals is neither dramatic nor possible; therefore, what the people can be given is a game of charades with the Soviet Union.

The mobilization of an external enemy can once again be used to avoid internal problems. Right-wing Republicans and conservative Democrats will rekindle the cold war because their domestic political ideas are bankrupt and they know it. The rest of the world will be forced to pay for the failure of the U.S. to examine itself critically.

There is a historical precedent for the 1978 election: the Congressional elections of 1950. The implications of that precedent must be contemplated, even though to do so is to raise some disturbing thoughts. In 1948, the Democrats elected a centrist president named Harry Truman, in a manner similar to the election of Carter in 1976. Once Truman had contained the left within his own party and assumed office, he, like Carter, determined that the greatest challenge was on the right.

In the first two years of his term, Truman tried everything he could to convey and image of anti-communism while at the same time pursuing some progressive goals in order to prevent the breakup of his own party. The theory behind this strategy was that a selective move to the right would be prudent and shrewd, beating the Republicans at their own game and insuring as a result some future for Democratic programs.

Giving the right credence.

The failure of Truman's strategy was revealed in the 1950 midterm elections. Rather than isolating the right, Truman's tactics seemed to make it stronger. Even moderate Democrats went down to defeat at the hands of ultra-reactionary Republicans. What Truman did not understand was that in the U.S., the right can succeed only when the center gives it credence.

Right-wing ideas are not inherently popular in this country; Americans will express themselves in favor of both the welfare state and detente whenever asked. But when politicians like Truman (and now Carter and California Gov. Jerry Brown) coopt the right's programs, they give the right the one thing it has never been able to obtain on its own: respectability. The ultimate impact of Truman's ploy was to make the right wing so strong that the U.S. began to sacrifice its domes-

tic ideals to a mythical communist conspiracy. It is not an exaggeration to say that Truman's strategy led directly to Vietnam and a resulting collapse of political morale in this country.

Now Carter is engaged in much the same quest. He will find himself the victim of his own folly. The script is as inevitable as the death of Oedipus. Carter will feel that 1978 proves how strong the right wing is in the U.S. In order to forestall it, he will become more hawkish toward the Soviets. This tactic will simply strengthen the most outrageous proponents of a resumed cold war, Democrats like Sam Nunn of Georgia and Republicans like Jesse Helms of North Carolina (both safely reelected in 1978). It will stimulate the presidential ambitions of hawks like Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-NY). It will firm up an unlikely alliance between Democratic hard-liners like Paul Nitze and the right wing anti-communism of ex-generals and ex-spooks.

Thinking that he has cleverly outfoxed the right, Carter will find himself, in 1980, facing a challenge both within and outside his party from elements that are far more adept at anti-communism than himself. He has put himself on a hopeless treadmill from which there is no escape, and all on the grounds of what he thinks is political prudence.

SALT's symbolic importance.

The key test for the new Congress will be the SALT treaty. Based on firm Nixonian assumptions about the world, there is nothing radical about SALT II. Like its predecessor, it legitimates the arms race by creating high "ceilings" for strategic weapons that demand to be reached. But if, in reality, SALT will have little impact on the arms race, its symbolic importance is enormous. It signifies the notion that the U.S. is no longer *numero uno*, and that is why the nostalgic right opposes it so bitterly.

Party labels will be irrelevant when it comes to the ratification of SALT. Big business and moderate Republicans will favor it, along with liberal Democrats. The AFL-CIO may just oppose it (in alliance with senators like Moynihan and Henry Jackson of Washington), along with the Republican right. Alternatively, Carter may try to bargain for Jackson's support, promising him so many concessions that Jackson will agree to floor manage the treaty. In either case, the 1978 elections indicate that the debate over SALT will be skewed sharply to the right.

Even if it passes, it will do so in a form that guarantees a strong conservative input. And if it is defeated, a non-stop cold war spending race seems insured. Given the election returns, in other words, the right has already won on SALT; we merely await the details of how its victory will be translated into policy.

The right will flourish.

There is no reason to be overly pessimistic over the results of the 1978 election. In a conservative period, the voters did not endorse a major repudiation of the welfare state. Liberals did manage to win elections, including Paul Tsongas in Massachusetts. Proposition 13-type initiatives were defeated in Michigan and Oregon. Most importantly, voters in Missouri rejected a heavily publicized campaign by the right to restrict labor's right to organize through a so-called Right to Work law. And in California, the voters impressively turned back an attempt by the right to parlay anti-gay bigotry into political power.

But although there are hopeful signs on the domestic side, the foreign policy consequences of the election do not offer much cheer. The shame is that if the voters were given a direct vote on foreign policy issues, they might prefer peace and a relaxation of tensions with the Russians. In the absence of such a choice, the right will flourish in the foreign policy realm. ■ Alan Wolfe is the author of *Limits to Legitimacy, a study of 20th century American politics*.

LATE RETURNS

New rightwinger loses big in Seattle

By Michelle Celarier
and Walter Hatch

IN A 1976 SPECIAL ELECTION, FORMER plastics manufacturer Jack Cunningham bought Washington state's seventh congressional district for half a million dollars. A protege of new right fundraiser Richard Viguerie, Cunningham was among those picked and groomed by the Republican right to win targeted special elections across the country that year.

This election, voters in Seattle's most urban industrial district didn't resubscribe to Cunningham's gold-plated populist promises.

"The public is not as dumb as some think," boasted Mike Lowry after the liberal Democrat ousted Cunningham with a New Deal-style coalition of labor, women, minorities and senior citizens. Again and again, the former King County councilman asserted that the ultra-conservative Republican didn't represent the interests of the traditionally Democratic district.

Cunningham did represent the irony of corporate wealth ostentatiously housed in the backyards of urban squatter. This is Boeing country, home of the state's multi-billion dollar aerospace contractor. It is also home for 90 percent of the state's blacks and 85,000 union families.

Taking 53 percent of the vote, Mike Lowry's margin of victory (9,000 votes) surpassed even the hopeful projections of his campaign strategists. A high turnout in this off-year election, coupled with the effective exposure of Cunningham's political views and financing, and Lowry's successful coalition-building, contributed to the victory.

On the same ballot, Seattle voted to halt mandatory busing, better arm its police force, and retain a ordinance outlawing discrimination in housing and employment on the basis of sexual preference. Gays and supporters went to the polls in unprecedented numbers. And when they did, they voted against Jack Cunningham. In solid gay rights neighborhoods where occasional voters were enlivened and new voters registered—Lowry garnered 78 percent of the vote.

Lowry also carried the white, union stronghold of West Seattle where opposition to school busing has been militant. And the pivotal district backed him despite a last-minute Cunningham mailing depicting Lowry as a proponent of "mandatory, forced busing."

Campaigning in a district with rapidly rising crime rates, Cunningham hoped to tap prevailing fears. His anti-big government slogan declared, "Taxes are killing America."

But in public debates, Lowry attacked his opponent's voting record on consumer, welfare and civil rights. Cunningham, Lowry said, received a zero rating from the National Council of Senior Citizens and had voted against the black political caucus 90 percent of the time.

Cunningham's money-making schemes—what the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education labeled "the right wing machine"—were discredited by both labor and local media. Over half of the incumbent's '78 campaign coffer of \$500,000 came from out of state direct mailings.

And voters grimaced at Cunningham's corporate support, which included multinationals like Honeywell, Texaco and Rockwell International, and Lowry attacked him for voting for oil company rebates, government subsidies to corporate farms and support for expensive weapons systems.

Cunningham concentrated on cultivating an agreeable, plain folks image: the Marlborough cowboy, gun-slinging for free enterprise. It was an unfortunately appropriate image for the man who introduced into Congress three bills aimed at abrogating Indian treaty rights (an action Lowry called "a clear case of this



Mike Lowry, who ran against one of rightwing fundraiser Richard Viguerie's proteges, was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, with endorsement from former senator Eugene McCarthy and other liberals.

country breaking its word").

But part of the Republican new right strategy was to downplay conservatism. The day before the election Cunningham workers distributed a broadside at Boeing's factory gates stating, "Aerospace Workers Support Cunningham." It quoted Machinists' president William Winpinger, who had thanked the Republican for his vote on labor law reform.

In fact, Cunningham had backed all the crippling amendments to labor law reform. Then, with the bill's defeat ensured,

he voted for it and came home claiming he had supported the working-class "interests of the district."

But the plan backfired. On election day, the Machinists took out a full-page newspaper ad supporting Lowry and denouncing Cunningham's leaflet as "misleading propaganda." He "supports the aims of huge corporations and financial interests," the ad said.

While Cunningham, a Clint Eastwood look-alike, attempted to cash in on the tax revolt, the affable and somewhat awkward

Lowry talked fiscal responsibility. Unlike Cunningham's liberal environmentalist opponent in 1976, Lowry discussed jobs and environment in the same breath. In this district dominated by Boeing's military sales, he maintained clear priorities towards the social services that his disenfranchised minority, women, senior citizen and gay supporters demanded.

It will be a difficult coalition to hold together. But Lowry doesn't seem to think so. "People voted for me knowing where I stood on the issues. I don't vacillate." ■

Third-party vote in California shows widespread dissatisfaction

By Larry Remer

"There is a new political alternative in California. The alternative is libertarianism, a movement to roll back the size of government and let people run their own lives. We intend to get government out of our pocketbooks, out of our bedrooms, and out of our private lives."

—Ed Clark, Libertarian Party candidate for California governor who received almost 400,000 votes

CALIFORNIA VOTERS SENT THE nation a message in this month's election. It was a complex message, the gist of which was not simply that the country should prepare for the anointment of Jerry Brown as the next president.

Millions of Californians expressed their dismay with Brown and the other choices put forth by the Republicans and Democrats. They stayed away from the polls in droves. An estimated four million people never even bothered to register to vote. And the 7.4 million who made it to the polls accounted for less than 70 percent of the electorate, which means that about 53 percent of the total eligible participated in the election.

Among those who did vote, there was widespread disenchantment with the choices on the ballot. In every statewide race, third and fourth party candidates received a sizeable vote—at least 6 percent. In fact, Brown's much heralded 20-point landslide was really a 56-36 win over Attorney General Evelle Younger.

Had the GOP nominated a less lackluster candidate, Brown could easily have been held to under 50 percent of the vote.

The big winner in the third party sweepstakes was Ed Clark, the Libertarian Party candidate for governor. Clark started out a political unknown—an obscure San Marino antitrust lawyer. But on election day he racked up nearly 400,000 votes (5 percent of the total). In the process the Libertarians have been transformed from a loose network of debating clubs into California's third largest political party and one of the brightest rising stars of the new right.

Several factors underscore the importance of the Clark vote. He spent less than \$375,000 on the race—a tenth the total spent by Younger. He had zero name identification with the public. And his libertarian philosophy is poorly understood and perceived as just pro-free enterprise boosterism.

Nevertheless, had Brown faced a tough challenge from the Republicans, Clark might have emerged as the "spoiler." More importantly, as an emerging political force the Libertarians are off and running for 1980 and 1982.

As in most states, the deck in California is stacked against third parties. Usually it takes an issue like Vietnam for one to spring to life. During the '60s, the anti-war, populist sentiment of the Peace and Freedom Party (PFP) gained a wide following in California. The growth of the PFP was so explosive in the mid-'60s that its potential for splitting the Democratic vote in 1968 is cited by many historians as one key reason for the resignation of Lyndon Johnson.

But ten years have passed since then, and the PFP today is a shell of its former self. Most of the left-oriented electoral energy has since been directed to reshaping the Democratic Party. In 1972, the PFP platform was indistinguishable from McGovern's. In 1976, Tom Hayden—running a populist campaign—captured one million votes in a primary for the U.S. Senate nomination. The Campaign for Economic Democracy, founded by Hayden, has since become the focus for most left electoral activism in the state.

Even so, what's left of the PFP, although unable to get more than 70,000 votes for governor, was able to get 292,799 for state controller—4.5 percent of the vote, which is more than double the amount needed to remain on the ballot. And the PFP candidate for Secretary of State rolled up 268,616. Clearly many voters, left, right and nondescript, wanted to express their lack of satisfaction with both major parties.

Libertarianism is on the rise because it speaks directly to California's current tide of middle class discontent. Overtaxed and weary of inflation, the electorate seems receptive to the message that government spending and interference in the so-called free enterprise system are at the root of our current ills.

It's the same message that gave Proposition 13 such a landslide victory last spring. And it's directed at the same audience: entrepreneurs, small business, and homeowners.

What makes the Libertarians such a political anomaly is that they remain true to their anti-government rhetoric on social

TAXES

Anti-growth mayor wins in San Jose

By Rasa Gustaitis

ADVOCATES OF LIMITED growth won a victory with the election of Mayor Janet Grey Hayes to a second four-year term in San Jose, Calif., Nov. 7. The mayor and her limited growth supporters were aided by the deep cut Proposition 13 has made into property tax revenues. Because new residential development now provides only a fraction of the tax base required to pay for the additional services, including schools, streets, sewers and parks, growth has slowed throughout California, according to Donald C. Benninghoven of the League of California Cities.

Expected to surpass nearby San Francisco by the 1980s, San Jose, with 600,000 people, is California's fastest-growing city.

Rapid growth during the decade before the Hayes administration spread into farmland, converting orchards and vegetable fields into tract housing and bringing smog, congestion and double school sessions. Builders had little interference from city government.

Calling the results a "clear mandate" from voters, Hayes said "the message I get again is that people in San Jose don't want another Los Angeles." The 52-year-old Hayes took 70.8 percent of the vote in a landslide over city councilman Al Garza in the non-partisan contest.

Garza, who was bankrolled by builders and developers, will remain on the city council. But the power he once wielded as a member of a pro-growth faction is disappearing.

The case for or against growth has been argued in terms of quality of life as well as cost to the community. But the deep cut into property tax revenues made the financial argument stronger.

Voters who tried to choose on the basis of campaign rhetoric alone were confused, however. Garza, with a pro-growth record, sounded as if he was trying to outdo Hayes as an advocate of growth limitation.

He charged that Hayes had failed to slow the city's expansion, pointing to a chart that showed units built between 1965 and 1967 and contrasting those figures with 1975 through 1977—the years of the first Hayes administration.

Scrutiny of the chart, however, revealed the omission of the years 1968 through 1974—the period of most rapid growth.

During that time, Hayes noted, annual building rose to 10,600 units. It has dropped to an average of 6,100 units since then.

The numbers game reflected the fact that few voters were likely to choose a candidate who openly advocated more subdivision for San Jose, especially since Proposition 13.

Under Hayes, the city master plan was revised and strengthened. "We put economics together with land planning and set in place the best framework of any large city I know of for controlling the direction of growth," said former city manager Ted Tedesco.

"Since 1974, we held the policy that there was to be no more expansion until we could say it would be of net benefit to the city," he added.

Tedesco, who came from Boulder, Colo., set up an office of economic development to bring in more industry and jobs.

"We were overly dependent on single-family homes for taxes," he said.

There was no commercial-industrial-residential balance, but the office did attract several new industries.

That, according to California's director of local economic development, put San Jose "out front."

The director, Wayne Schell, said, "They were the first in doing some things

Proposition 13's tax limitation prevents new developments from generating the revenue to pay for themselves.

—such as with the one-stop business center idea."

The center channels a variety of building permits through one central office. "Only in the last couple of years have other cities gotten onto this as a matter of city concern," Schell added.

Residential developers are charged a construction-conveyance tax to pay back the city for the full cost of building services, including parks and libraries. Instead of continuing to reach into new agricultural lands, the city began to fill in already developed sections, holding the line on expansion for three years in a row.

After passage of Proposition 13, however, Tedesco said, San Jose can no longer continue to grow.

"It costs \$500,000 to build an area fire station and \$600,000 a year to run it," he said.

Shortly after the construction-conveyance tax, however, Tedesco was fired—the victim of what he called a council coup by pro-growth forces that included Garza.

The Council then voted to spend most of the \$10 million accumulated in the construction-conveyance fund on roadbuilding, much of it to open the way for new residential development.

Garza has denied charges that his \$400,000 campaign for mayor was partially financed by developers in exchange for the new road construction.

(© 1978 Pacific News Service)



Janet Grey Hayes won re-election as San Jose mayor on a limited growth platform. The election of a Hayes ally to the city council gives the limited growth forces a majority.

DEATH

California death penalty toughens

By Seth Rosenfeld

The nation's most extreme death penalty was put on the books in California last week after a silent campaign that left voters largely ignorant about the life-and-death decisions involved.

Proposition 7, which replaces a more limited capital punishment law passed last year over Gov. Jerry Brown's veto, broadens the application of the death sentence and radically alters the judicial process that determines who dies.

The measure passed two to one. In Oregon, the only other state where the issue was on the ballot this last election, voters also chose two-to-one to restore capital punishment.

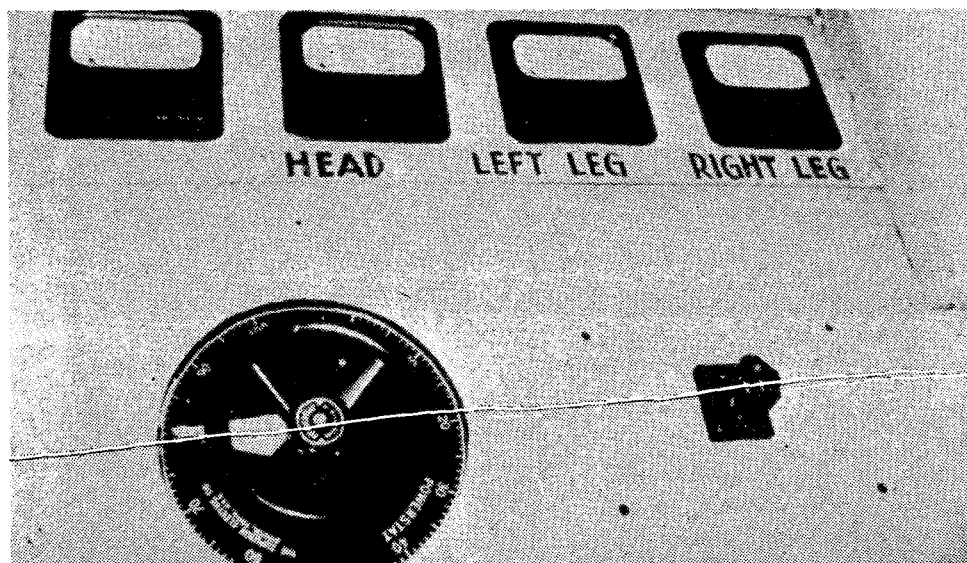
The bill extends the crime categories punishable by death from 11 to 19.

One of the controversial new provisions states that death may be ordered if "the victim was intentionally killed because of his race, color, religion, nationality or city of origin."

San Francisco Assemblyman Willie Brown has called this clause "racist," arguing that "if there is any evidence at all that the homicide was racially motivated, the defendant could be sentenced to death."

The list of peace officers whose killing can now draw the penalty is stretched to include toll bridge operators, food and drug inspectors and 44 others.

The new law also curtails discretion of both judges and juries in deciding whether to apply the death penalty. It imposes mandatory requirements on each



Death penalty statutes are currently on the books in 35 states, a number that may increase in 1979.

Media attention focused on Briggs' other initiative, Proposition 6, which demanded the firing of homosexual teachers, and Proposition 5, which would have restricted smoking in public places. Both measures failed.

Proposition 7 supporters spent about \$500,000 to get the measure on the ballot but almost nothing during the campaign, according to Briggs' administrative assistant, Don Sizemore.

"Debate sometimes makes voters uncomfortable," he explained. "Nobody likes a strong clash of opinion. They like nice things. They like to be told how to vote. They like authoritative statements."

Computer-personalized letters and pet-

ition forms based on this philosophy were sent to voters selected with modern marketing methods from precinct lists. A typical message read: "Peggy, you can protect yourself from ruthless killers who are walking the streets of Castro Valley if you sign this petition and return it to Citizens for an Effective Death Penalty today."

An accompanying brochure showed a long-haired man, with a sign suggesting a swastika on his forehead, who was pointing a gun at the reader.

"If Charles Manson sent his 'family' of drug-crazed killers to slaughter your family, Manson would not face the death penalty under California law," the brochure advised. Nor would Sirhan Sirhan, it maintained, were he to kill Bobby Kennedy today.

© 1978 PNS

By Ron Williams

CHICAGO

ABORTIONS

Chicago clinics: High profits for mistreatment

IN AN EXPLOSIVE SUCCESSION OF headlines under the rubric of "The Abortion Profiteers," the *Chicago Sun-Times* began publishing last week the findings of a five-month investigation into conditions at this city's many abortion clinics.

Although displaying a knack for lurid detail and a flare for the sensational, the on-going series is thoroughly researched and well documented. It names names. And what has been uncovered has stirred up a hornets' nest around the already volatile issue of abortion that may well extend beyond Chicago or Illinois politics.

Focusing on abortion clinics located along fashionable Michigan Avenue, near Chicago's Loop, *Sun-Times* investigators and members of the Better Government Association (BGA) infiltrated the facilities by gaining employment and recorded their observations. The results in some cases are profoundly disturbing to pro-choice and pro-life advocates alike.

Conditions varied greatly from clinic to clinic, but four of the most blatant violators included: abortion procedures performed on dozens of women who were not pregnant, illegal abortions performed on women more than 12 weeks pregnant, unsterile conditions resulting in a high instance of infection and other serious complications, incompetent and unqualified staff, falsified medical records, lack of critical postoperative reports and examinations, and Medicaid fraud.

In some clinics where doctors receive payment by the abortion, the operation was completed in as little as two minutes, without time for the anesthetics to take effect, as physicians raced each other. It was discovered that several referral services receive payment for each patient sent to a clinic, and that some counselors are paid not to counsel but to convince.

Since 1973 more than 200,000 women have had legal abortions in the state of Illinois. As a result of the enormous costs of hospital care and a 1973 law prohibiting doctors from performing the procedure in their offices, it is estimated that 80 percent of Illinois abortions take place in clinics.

Sitting squarely in the middle of all this is the Illinois Department of Public Health, responsible for licensing clinics, inspecting professional credentials and insuring the enforcement of an array of legal regulations. The department is plagued by overlapping jurisdictions with other agencies and a lack of clear definitions regarding some regulations. Almost two months ago the department revoked the license of the Water Tower Reproductive Center Ltd., but the clinic continues to operate.

Likely to change.

A fury of activity has developed since the initial stories appeared, with politicians scrambling to cover themselves or get mileage out of public sentiment. A Cook County Grand Jury has subpoenaed financial and medical records of several clinics. Presidential hopeful Gov. James Thompson, whose hopes strengthened considerably by his resounding reelection last week, immediately ordered the creation of a special task force to investigate named clinics and sent joint teams from the Department of Public Health and the Department of Registration and Education into some clinics for spot checks.

Thompson has a record of moderate support for women's right to choose. In the past he vetoed state legislation forbidding the use of state Medicaid funds for abortion, but the legislature easily overrode the veto. This summer he also vetoed a measure prohibiting state employees from using state medical insurance to pay for abortions, but that veto is also expected to be overridden. Thompson is too seasoned a politician to allow himself to be caught in the middle of such a highly charged issue.

State Sen. Richard M. Daley, son of Chicago's late mayor, hastily announced he would reintroduce legislation requiring state licensing of all abortion counselors. The legislation was introduced last year but was bottled up in committee by strong opposition headed by the Illinois Planned Parenthood Council. Critics of



Abortions have been performed on women not pregnant, and on those more than 12 weeks pregnant. Some clinics offer unsterile conditions, falsified records and incompetent staff.

the Daley measure assert that passage would fail to prevent unethical counseling procedures while unnecessarily disqualifying a large number of volunteer and "non-professional" counselors who work out of crisis centers as well as clinics.

Most predictable, however, is the Right to Life response to the current political climate. On the statewide level, pro-life advocates are demanding additional regulatory legislation and are aggressively lobbying for Illinois to become the 14th state to call for a constitutional convention. Jim Belanger, of the Illinois Pro-Life Coalition (IPLC), told *IN THESE TIMES* that the "con con" "would address one issue: to place a Human Life Amendment, demanding recognition of the personhood and all constitutional rights for the pre-born child in the womb." Belan-

ger explained that "courts have stuck closely to the 1973 Supreme Court ruling and refuse to review the 'life facts.'" Thus in the IPLC's view, a "con con" is the only alternative.

Pro-life activists have been critical of the *Sun-Times* series, accusing the paper of hypocrisy in accepting ads from the clinics they are now exposing. The paper has suspended publication of further abortion advertisements, but has run the names and numbers of two responsible referral services with each daily installment.

The series is scheduled to continue for almost two weeks and is expected to detail favorably conditions found at other Chicago clinics. Friends For Life, another right-to-life group in the Chicago area, is warning of "a whitewash of the

so-called clean clinics, the ones Planned Parenthood recommends."

The "clean clinics."

Susan Hicks is the executive director of a "clean clinic" that Planned Parenthood sends referrals to—the Midwest Population Center. Located just off Michigan Avenue in the Loop, the center offers a broad scope of services including abortions, birth control counseling, vasectomies, gynecological care, sexual health services, and an out-reach program promoting body education. The center is not-for-profit and has an all-volunteer board of directors.

Hicks told *IN THESE TIMES* that "the public information aspect of the *Sun-Times* series is positive. If people had this information earlier, these clinics would not have been able to exist." Since the publicity, women have become more critical and ask many more questions, she said.

Hicks feels that the problem in Chicago is lack of enforcement of existing legislation. She believes that the continuing stigma has made free and open discussion about abortion difficult. She contends that the medical profession has generally been reluctant to strengthen regulation.

Chicago area women's groups, including the Chicago Women's Health Task Force, the Illinois Women's Agenda, the New American Movement's Reproductive Rights Task Force and the Cook County House Staff, held a press conference on Thursday, Nov. 16, to discuss a pro choice response to recent events. Calling themselves the Chicago Coalition of Concerned Women, they stated, "We are faced with two choices—to go forwards or to go backwards. To go backwards is to return to the years prior to 1973, to the time before legalization of abortion and the horrors of back alley abortions, coat hangers, hotel rooms, infections and murders."

They also declared that although they supported the closing of the abortion clinics with the worst abuses, "these clinics are the major providers of services to Medicaid patients, and thus, once more, poor and third world women are the ones most likely to suffer."

Perhaps the most visible focus of the conflicting responses generated from the disclosures will be the fate of the "Burke Amendment" in the Chicago city council. Based on the controversial Akron ordinance now tied up in the courts, and sponsored by Alderman Ed Burke and a host of right-to-life organizations, the measure is an amendment to the Municipal Code of Chicago outlining specific qualifications and requirements with regard to the abortion procedure.

The original amendment never emerged out of the City Health Committee, where opponents successfully prevented public hearings from taking place. The new amendment, redrafted by lawyers from the Americans United for Life Legal Defense Fund, has been resubmitted to the City Health Committee in the aftermath of the current expose. According to Jim Belanger of the IPLC, "There is a grassroots demand from citizenry for extensive regulation statewide."

Phyllis Tholin, Illinois coordinator of the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights, disagrees. "Of course the city will find that it is unconstitutional, even as rewritten. The Akron ordinance is being litigated in Ohio and a similar statewide measure is being litigated in Louisiana. Why should the taxpayers of Chicago have to pay for it being litigated here?"

The amendment would require, among other things, that instructions or counseling of the woman prior to the abortion upon medical matters be conducted by a physician; that the Board of Health "develop reasonable regulations for the humane disposal of unborn children after abortions"; and that women, their parents when they are minors and their husbands be provided with information on the characteristics of the unborn child at the time of the abortion.

The amendment raises the difficult questions of "viability" (at what point does the fetus become a person with rights) and "informed consent." These questions are unlikely to be resolved soon, regardless of the outcome of the political battle.

TEAMSTERS

Cannery workers upset Teamsters

By Martin Brown

SAN JOSE, CALIF.

THE INTENSE HEAT AND NOISE of heavy machinery moving fruit and vegetables around the plant engulf Delfina Lozoya as she enters a San Jose cannery for the four-to-midnight swing shift.

Machines cut and peel the produce, put it into cans, then cook, label and pack the cans into boxes.

Lozoya's primary task is tending the machines: sorting fruit into grades, feeding the equipment, discarding damaged cans. The speed of the work is regulated by the conveyor belt, carrying thousands of cans around the plant on open metal tracks.

"People?" Delfina says of plant management. "They try to work us like animals."

Complaints like Delfina Lozoya's have reverberated through canneries for decades, even though California cannery workers have been represented by the largest and most powerful union in the country—the International Brotherhood of Teamsters—for the past 40 years.

Now there are indications that the workers—largely Latino, low-wage, and women—are ready to take on the union. Last month the rank-and-file Cannery Workers Committee (CWC) won an upset victory over the incumbent slate of Teamster officials in San Jose's local 679. The CWC won on a majority of executive offices in the 17,000-member local to challenge the union leadership for the first time in 30 years.

The rank-and-file group charges that primitive conditions persist in the cannery industry because of Teamster policy. CWC plans to change these policies by gaining power from within.

If the rise of Hispanic rank-and-file militancy in the California canneries is any indication, several divisions of the much-maligned Teamsters union could become instruments for popular labor power in the 1980s.

The Teamsters gained full control over

the canneries in 1946, competing with the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) for jurisdictional rights. According to Paul St. Shure, former attorney for the California Processors and Growers, the Teamsters were aided by "the connivance, or certainly the more-than-passive cooperation" of the canning industry itself once unionization seemed inevitable.

"Organizing from above has been one of the distinguishing features of Teamster organizing drives," says Donald Garnel, labor historian and author of *The Rise of Teamster Power in the West*.

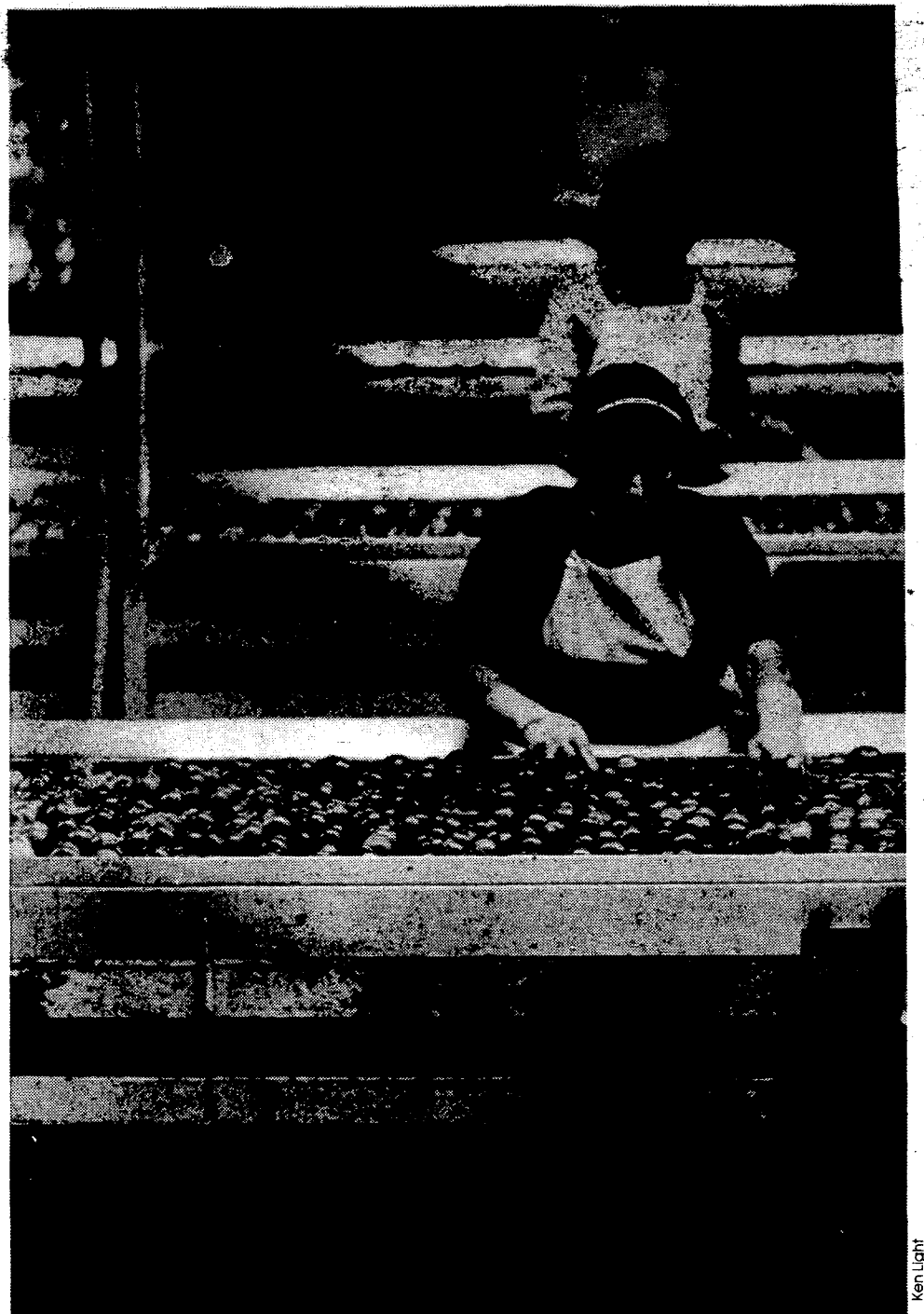
"I run this place just like a business, just like the Standard Oil Company or the Northern Pacific Railway," former Teamster leader Dave Beck once said of his Seattle local. "Why should truck drivers and bottle washers be allowed to make big decisions affecting union policy? Would any corporation allow it?" But 40 years later, one of the key grievances of the Cannery Workers Committee is the exclusion of the workers from the union decision-making process.

About 80 percent of the production workers in the canneries and food processing plants in the San Jose area are of Mexican origin, and about 50 percent do not speak English fluently. Yet under the old leadership of local 679, union meetings were held only in English.

The CWC also complained that Latino workers, the vast majority of whom are employed at seasonal jobs, are cut out of union participation. According to Raul Hernandez, a victorious CWC candidate in last month's election, cannery workers are eligible to run for union office only if their dues are paid up for 24 straight months.

But, says Hernandez, "seasonal workers are not employed year-round so there is no way they could have union dues paid up for two years of consecutive months. Three years ago we estimated that out of the 17,000 members of Local 679, only 37 workers were eligible for union office."

Inspired by the United Farm Workers, Latino workers formed the Cannery Work-



Women workers selecting tomatoes work under poor conditions despite 40 years of unionization.

ers Committee in 1968. The issue of job discrimination goes to the heart of the highly stratified cannery work force. In the processing section of the canneries, where the fruit is sorted and graded and where the jobs are the most tedious and lowest paid, the workers are almost exclusively Latino women.

In the cooking, labeling and packing rooms, where the pay is higher and the worker is less a slave of the machine, there are few women.

And in the warehouse and maintenance jobs, which pay the best, there are almost no women. The higher level jobs tend to be reserved for men, and the top craft

jobs go primarily to whites.

The CWC filed suit against the cannery industry in 1973, charging industry discrimination against Latinos and women. The Teamster union sided with the canneries.

Nevertheless, the CWC won a \$5 million settlement for the cannery workers, and also a multi-million dollar class action suit against the Western Conference of Teamsters Pension Plan that enabled seasonal workers to get benefits without working the minimum hours per year required of non-seasonal workers.

The CWC leadership, however, consid-

Continued on page 20.

Steelhaulers mean business in Gary strike

By David Moberg

THE DRIVER PULLED HIS LARGE flatbed truck loaded with steel into a Gary, Ind., truck stop. It was a familiar hangout for steel haulers sympathetic to a group that a few days earlier had called for a halt to all steel trucking, warning drivers to stay off the road or suffer the consequences.

The men in the truck stop—supporters of FASH, the Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers—quickly approached the loaded truck and the six cars of Teamster staff—scorned by FASH as "goons"—who were accompanying it in a test of rebel strength. Quickly the FASH crew, "did in a number of goons, slashed tires on the cars, kicked in some doors and thumped a few heads," one of their leaders said later. "They told the driver to go back to the terminal and tell drivers there this was a sample of the protection the union could give them."

"This is a serious fight," FASH organizer George Sullivan said, accentuating the obvious. "We're not playing games. I predict we're going to have a victory—and somebody might get hurt. They [the Teamsters] are going to have to go to gunfire or surrender. And I believe we could outshoot them, even if people don't want to have to do that."

There were reports of violence in Ohio,

West Virginia, and Pennsylvania as strikers tried to chase steel trucks off the road.

The strike, called by FASH on Nov. 11, is a curious and complex affair. Born during a wildcat strike in 1967, FASH is both a small independent union and a rank-and-file dissident group within the Teamsters. They seek to represent the roughly 30,000 steelhaulers of whom perhaps one-third are Teamsters and the rest unorganized. The Teamster steel haulers are covered by the Master Freight Agreement, which expires next April 1, including a special contract "rider" governing steel and other "special commodities."

Nearly all of the steel haulers, Teamster or non-union, own their own trucks—which can easily cost \$50-60,000—but work only for the carrier firms. Because they are part employee, part small businessman, the independent truckers have special needs that many drivers feel have been regularly ignored over the years by the Teamsters.

Consequently, steel haulers have been among the most rebellious Teamsters. They struck against the Teamsters for 13 weeks in 1967 and nine weeks in 1970, fought a bloody gun battle with Teamster agents in Youngstown, Ohio, in 1969, and actively supported the truckers' strike during the 1973 oil embargo.

Unlike other Teamster reform groups, FASH wants to take steel haulers out of the Teamsters. The National Labor Rela-

tions Board has frustrated their effort at decertification by ruling that steel haulers do not constitute a bargaining unit separate from the 270,000 to 400,000 truckers under the Master Freight Agreement. Likewise, they have been stymied in their organizing by frequent rulings that the owner-operators are not really employees eligible to form a union.

Their attempted shutdown of steel hauling, which began to affect numerous steel mills in the eastern half of the U.S. by the middle of last week, is a shotgun protest aimed at the Teamsters, the carriers and numerous agencies of the federal and state governments.

FASH is taking advantage of immediate grievances of many Teamster steel haulers with the 1976 contract, which they say has cut their income below what it would be under the old contract and below non-union levels. Sullivan says it has cost drivers \$4,000 a year in gross income.

FASH is demanding an end to the Teamster contract, a change in federal antitrust law that will permit independent truckers to organize as a union, federal licensing or "full reciprocity" of licenses between states, uniform leasing arrangement with carriers, enforcement of the contract provision that drivers be paid for excessive waiting time, and initiation of a fee for "tarping" (the time consumed in wrapping of products on their open flatbed trucks).

With such varied demands directed to so many authorities, FASH leaders can only hope that their disruption will be severe enough to force government, union and industry leaders to talk with them. They may also be hoping that the turmoil—and any future reaction of the Teamsters, who presently maintain that FASH and its actions have nothing to do with them—will give impetus to decertification moves that can be filed starting next January, 90 days before the contract expires.

Although FASH actions in the past won concessions for steel haulers, there are reports that FASH has lost some of its supporters and did not win endorsement of its strike call at a Nov. 12 meeting of a National Unity Council of various independent trucker fraternal associations. Other reformers within the Teamsters sympathize with FASH criticisms of the Teamster contract and internal democracy but argue that "if you have the power to get out of the union, you have the power to change the union." FASH at this point has the power to disrupt, but it is less clear whether they have the power using their current strategy to win their varied demands.

Feelings are running high on all sides. The chances for violence will increase if the strike's effects broaden, and FASH leaders seem ready for it. Sullivan says bluntly, "This is civil war within the International Brotherhood of Teamsters." ■

IN THE WORLD

MIDEAST

Arabs can't agree on anti-Sadat acts

By David Mandel

AMMAN, JORDAN

AS EXPECTED, THE NOV. 24 Baghdad summit of all Arab states (except Egypt, which was not invited) produced only a relatively mild condemnation of President Sadat's separate peace agreements with Israel. The unanimous resolution expressed "non-acceptance" rather than rejection of Egypt's moves—leaving the door open to either harsher language or approval when the Washington negotiations conclude.

Though not officially announced, a \$3.4 billion fund was reported to have been established, to be given by the oil-producers to Syria (\$1.8 billion), Jordan (\$1.2 billion) and the PLO (\$0.4 billion)—but over the next ten years—leaving plenty of leeway for alteration. And according to left-wing Palestinian sources with whom I spoke, it was secretly agreed that each Arab country will determine its own policy concerning boycotts and other economic sanctions against Egypt. These Palestinians conclude that there is more hot air than substance to any talk of united Arab efforts to isolate Sadat.

Iraq more conciliatory.

While the PLO, along with Syria, Libya, Algeria and South Yemen, pushed for stronger action, Sudan, Oman, North Yemen and Morocco quite clearly support the Egyptian president. The others, led by powerful Saudi Arabia and including Jordan and the oil-rich gulf states, are disturbed by Sadat's go-it-alone attitude, but are even more disturbed by the prospect of weakening the Egyptian regime.

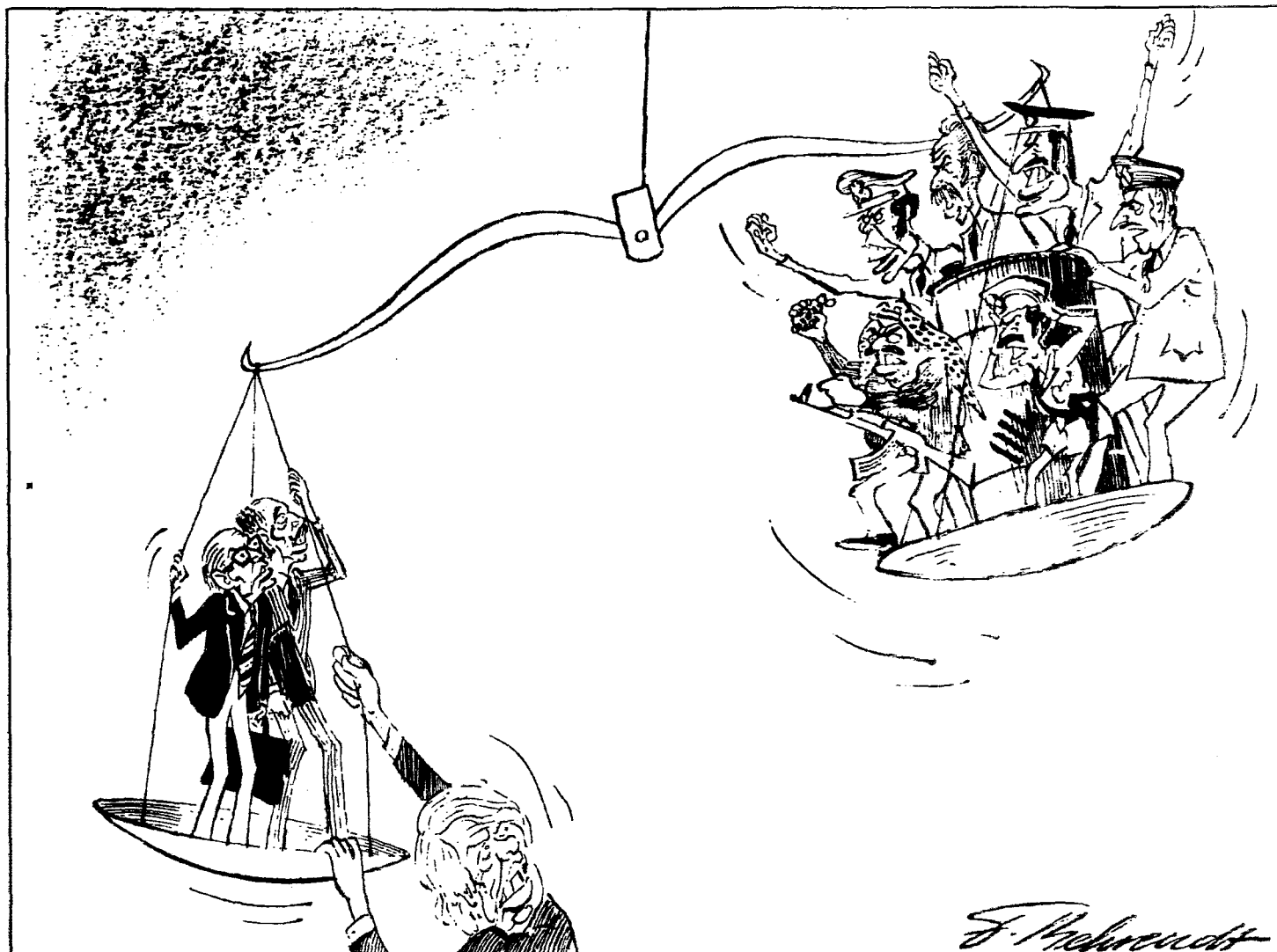
With Iran's future stability under the shah increasingly in doubt, the last thing they want is another Gamel Abdel-Nasser taking over in the largest Arab country. Sadat's help in combatting, or at least not supporting radical movements in the region is an important concern for them. The Baghdad resolution might have been even milder had not Sadat rudely rebuffed a "conciliation" mission sent during the summit.

Even Iraq, until recently one of the hardest line rejectors of any negotiated peace with Israel, has become much more conciliatory. Its role as host partly explains the change, but nervousness over events in Iran is even more important. Despite the rhetoric, Iraqi President Bakr has built up considerable cooperation with his powerful neighbor the shah in recent years, and also, according to the Palestinians, has quietly become cozy with Saudi Arabia.

Most significant, perhaps, was an item missing from the Baghdad resolution: it contained no condemnation of U.S. policy in the Mideast. After all, the American administration is intimately involved in the Israeli-Egyptian negotiations. This omission sharply underlines the weakness of the anti-American camp in the Arab world. Almost all of even the most "radical" states have at least some important ties with America and West European capital. And all recognize that as Israel's sponsor, the U.S. can force a change in Israeli policy.

Israeli intransigence.

Why, then, don't some of the other Arab states, especially the pro-American ones, go along with the Camp David process, and secure a piece of the prize for themselves? King Hussein, for instance, would certainly like to make peace with Israel and restore the West Bank to his Jordanian domain. Even Syrian President Hafez al-Assad is privately suspected by many PLO figures in Beirut and Damascus of



With Iran's stability shaken, Arab states at the Baghdad Summit grew timid about moves that might imperil Egypt itself.

being anxious to reach a reasonable compromise with Israel over the Golan Heights, in order to direct all efforts at consolidating his army's domination of Lebanon. Can these leaders be expected to break ranks and join Egypt in the near future?

Probably not. First of all, the Israeli government under Menachem Begin is showing no signs of interest in extending the negotiations to include Jordan and Syria. As long as Sadat is willing to make a separate peace, as he apparently is, the Israelis feel no pressure to make concessions on other fronts. With Egypt neutralized, or even allied, they feel confident they can handle any military threat from the north and east.

Furthermore, Israel's actions in Lebanon until now—continued *de facto* rule of the south and massive arming of the rightist militias—seem aimed at provoking a confrontation with Syria. Concerning the West Bank, Israeli negotiators in Washington have fought hard against every demand raised by the Egyptians.

Thus, Hussein and Assad cannot be sure of success if they follow Sadat's footsteps. But they would be sure of one thing: intense Palestinian resistance. Stateless and dispersed, the three million Palestinians have the most reason to oppose the Israeli-Egyptian-American plan for "limited self-rule." It would torpedo their demand for an independent national state on the West Bank and Gaza, which Israel occupies.

And Palestinians have the means to threaten Syria and/or Jordan should these states abandon them, as Sadat is apparently doing. In Lebanon, where PLO forces constitute a major armed presence, their acquiescence is crucial to any Syrian involvement there, be it peacekeeping or

an attempt at permanent domination. Syria itself houses 350,000 Palestinians, and has incorporated large numbers of them in its army. Many were reported to have mutinied or defected in 1976, when Assad ordered his troops into Lebanon against their wishes.

Peace through war.

In Jordan, Palestinians constitute 60 percent of the population. Though stripped of military strength by King Hussein's offensive against PLO fighters in 1970, their sheer numbers in the Jordanian work force, and within the army, make the Palestinians a potential threat to Jordanian stability. Leftists told us of undercurrents of unrest in the country due to economic hardship and the king's autocratic rule. Even American sources in Damascus referred to Hussein's "internal problems" in explaining why he was officially opposing Sadat. It is perhaps no coincidence that only Sadat can afford to ignore the Palestinians—they are a mere 50,000 out of Egypt's 50 million population.

The mainstream PLO leadership is adopting a strategy of keeping up pressure on Syria and Jordan through the "steadfastness and confrontation front" of "radical" Arabs formed last year in Tripoli, Libya, after Sadat's Jerusalem visit. It places great hopes in the recent Syrian-Iraqi rapprochement and demands that it be made a third party to the hoped-for new alliance.

By restoring the military option on the northern—and eastern, if Jordan can be pulled along—fronts, the PLO hopes to destroy Israel's and Egypt's separate peace, forcing Israel to either fight or reopen negotiations from a weaker position.

"If you want peace," I was told last week in Beirut by a PLO member well-known for his moderation vis-a-vis Israel, "prepare for war." In addition to such conventional rearmament, the PLO promises more attacks inside Israel and the occupied territories, to remind the Jews who live there and the whole world that peace without the Palestinians is impossible.

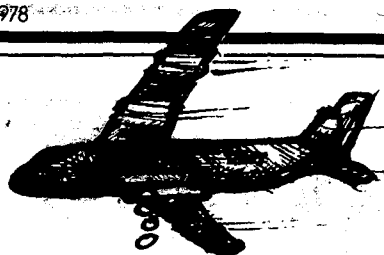
The Palestinian left, represented by Nayef Hawatmeh's Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), has a somewhat different conception. Now second only to Yasir Arafat's Fateh within the PLO, the DFLP was the first Palestinian organization to put forth the "transitional program," since accepted by virtually the whole PLO: an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza rather than the destruction of Israel. The left opposes terror attacks of any kind outside the Mideast, and argues within the PLO for striking military rather than civilian targets inside Israel and the occupied territories. Of the many Palestinian activists I met in Beirut, the DFLP people were by far the most concerned with the progress of Israeli forces who struggle against the occupation.

The DFLP is skeptical about the strategy of preparing a powerful joint Iraqi-Syrian-Palestinian military force. There are too many conflicting interests, Iraq is unreliable, and Syria is afraid of allowing Iraqi soldiers on its soil, they say. Rather, the DFLP speaks of relying more on the Palestinian masses themselves to keep up pressure on Hussein and Assad, and most importantly, to resist Begin's limited autonomy scheme from within the occupied territories. The most crucial mass struggle will be waged, they say, in the West Bank and Gaza, against cooperation with the occupiers and Hussein's allies, the traditional ruling class, who might be tempted, with the king's blessing, to work within the framework of Begin's plan.

Divide and rule.

President Sadat's separate road has united the Palestinian camp as it has not been for some time. Camp David's direct threat to possibilities of winning an independent

Continued on page 20.



The Butter Cookie War heats up.

By Bruce Vandervort

GENEVA

LESS THAN A WEEK BEFORE Jimmy Carter's speech to the IMF-World Bank conference, his roving trade ambassador, Robert Strauss, got a curt letter from the Common Market's minister for external affairs. It warned that unless Congress could be moved to extend a "waiver" on sanctions against certain European exports, the crucial Multilateral Trade Negotiations (MTN) in Geneva might be disrupted.

The "waiver" suspends countervailing duties on subsidized imports into the U.S. until Jan. 3, 1979. Europeans say that unless it is prolonged, they will be negotiating in Geneva with a gun to their heads. At stake, the letter said, was some \$400 million worth of EEC trade, mainly in canned hams, dairy products and butter cookies.

While Strauss and Carter were trying to ease fears on the "waiver" front, Congress quickly raised the ante in the "Butter Cookie War." On Sept. 29, the Senate approved a rider to a bill on trade credits, sponsored by Sen. Ernest Hollings (D-SC), that would exclude American tariffs on textiles from consideration in the MTN. The uproar in Washington was only exceeded by the din in Brussels. Tran Van Thinh, the EEC's special representative for textile negotiations, said that American duties on textiles were the highest in the world and would have to be bargained down. He urged Carter to "use his veto on the issue."

Agreement between the U.S. and its crucial European trading partners on a "framework for world trade in the 1980s" is also imperiled because each side is finding compelling reasons for not wanting to buy more from the other.

Farm policy dispute.

Disputes over steel and textiles grab most of the headlines, but the make-or-break issue for the MTN is agricultural trading. The EEC already buys four to six times more farm produce from the U.S. than it sells there and American negotiators in Geneva are demanding even greater access to European markets for American beef, cereals, citrus fruits and dairy products.

At the same time, the American delegation wants the EEC to cut back subsidies to its agricultural exporters. Washington has long claimed that this aid gives the European farm bloc an "unfair" advantage. Brussels fears that concessions on this point will cost the Community im-

WORLD ECONOMY

Europe's resistance to U.S. agripower threatens trade war

portant outlets for its farm goods—to the benefit of American competitors. Failure to agree on these issues forestalled conclusion of the MTN in July, and Bob Strauss has said that unless the EEC bends on agriculture, the Carter administration won't present a trade bill to Congress this winter.

Such tough talk has its short-term uses. Democratic Party hopefuls in U.S. farm states this fall expected no less from Carter's top trade negotiator. And there may also be a longer-run political pay-off. Much of American agribusiness is concentrated in the fast-developing "Sun Belt," where Democratic hegemony is far from assured. The demand for increased exports of citrus fruit to Europe and Japan, which has become a centerpiece of the MTN, has obvious political overtones.

The Europeans have definite political reasons for holding the line as well. They see Strauss' agricultural jaw-boning as a direct attack on the EEC's protectionist Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), a massive farm price support scheme that accounts for about 65 percent of the Community's annual budget. The CAP is popular among European farmers as it assures them of above-world-market prices for their produce, a guaranteed chunk of the internal market and subsidies for the export of their surplus. This explains why the CAP "unfortunately remains the only real joint Community policy," as one official EEC publication puts it.

French intransigent.

Critics point out that the CAP is a source of huge and expensive surpluses, Europe's fabled "butter mountains" and "wine lakes," and that it keeps food prices at nearly double the American average. But this has to be measured against the CAP's success in keeping the rural population down on the farm, EEC officials reply, no mean accomplishment in an era when more Europeans are jobless than

at any time since World War II. Europe's rural exodus slowed in the late '60s, leaving a little under ten million people on the land. This figure has lately begun to increase, as disillusioned city dwellers try to get back to nature.

Given the narrow political margins on which they survive these days, most European governments can't afford to upset rural voters by widening the EEC door to American food or abridging the CAP to suit Washington. Thus, though Helmut Schmidt's government is known to favor greater American farm imports to drive down food prices, it dares not antagonize German farmers, whose 7 percent of the population is more than double the SPD-Free Democrat coalition's electoral edge.

However, it is the French government, Europe's stables for the moment, that has been the most intransigent. The EEC's leading agricultural nation, and the world's No. 4 farm goods exporter (and aspiring to the No. 2 spot), France is prepared to bring the whole EEC structure down before allowing Brussels to give in to Bob Strauss' demands. And it has the means to do so: all top level Community policy decisions must be made unanimously.

The French hard line has clear political dimensions. Any lapse in the defense of French farmers' real or presumed interests will rebound against the government at the ballot box. On its right, the Gaullist party (RPR), the main architect of the CAP in 1962, has a strong following among the bigger French farmers, mainly in the north and east. The RPR leader, Paris mayor and ex-minister of agriculture Jacques Chirac, will probably run against Giscard d'Estaing for the presidency in 1981 and would like nothing better than to be able to accuse the incumbent of knuckling under to the Americans.

On the left, the Communists and Socialists warn that concessions on farm

trade are unthinkable in view of the imminent entry into the EEC of Greece, Portugal and Spain. The left is a potent force among the small farmers of southern France, who stand to suffer most from competition with fruit, vegetables and wine from Greece and the Iberian Peninsula. Bowing to pressure from the American farm lobby could lead to mass bankruptcy south of the Loire, left leaders say. Their warnings are listened to these days, as Communist and Socialist candidates have won four straight by-elections to the French parliament.

The impending enlargement of the EEC is a major obstacle to the growth of American agricultural sales in Europe. Full membership of Greece, Portugal and Spain in the Community could come as soon as 1983, just about when Jimmy Carter's export promotion plan is supposed to be in full flower. Already, Brussels is discussing ways of absorbing new, large amounts of foodstuffs from the three newcomers without driving too many farmers in the old Nine out of business. Since the big crunch will come in France and Italy, whose range of crops and growing seasons are closest to those of the three, Paris is setting a high price on its support for EEC expansion.

The French agriculture ministry says that barriers to outside farm produce will have to be strengthened if the CAP is to survive the expansion. And if integration of the three new states into the Common Market is to be mutually beneficial, their trading patterns will have to be "Europeanized." American agricultural exporters will be unhappy with this. Spain, for example, buys over 90 percent of its wheat and more than 70 percent of its corn from the U.S.

First among equals.

Foreign competition hasn't yet begun to hurt American agribusiness, as the level of farm exports in 1977 (\$24 billion) shows. Though this year's bumper crop may be difficult to dispose of, the biggest American headache is over industrial imports—in textiles, leather goods and steel. The demands of business and labor for protection in these sectors cannot be met by an administration committed to the liberalization of trade.

At the MTN, American negotiators privately agree with their European counterparts that the only solution to the ills of industries like textiles or steel is weeding out the smaller firms and less competitive product lines, all of which means sizeable layoffs and a bigger market share for the multinationals. This is already happening in Europe; there is no reason to believe that the American experience would be any different.

But what about the longer haul? Given the pressures of the big American farm surplus, it's easy to portray Bob Strauss' performance in the MTN as a hustling job for American agribusiness. However, what he is trying to accomplish may not be so obvious. Brzezinski and the intellectual heavyweights of the Trilateral Commission may have different notions of what allied "interdependence" means, but on the level of practical policy, where Strauss is working, it adds up to keeping the U.S. "first among equals." That requires the imposition (or is it reimposition?) of American economic power—but not along the whole spectrum of production, as formerly might have been the case. The Carter administration is not prepared to fight for American hegemony in the older forms of enterprise—textiles or footwear, even steel. Its aim is to seize control of the commanding heights of production in the 1980s, in the strategic sectors of high technology (computers) and food, where the U.S. still appears to have a commanding lead.

Much of today's rift between the U.S. and Europe derives from the wielding of what the European press calls U.S. "agripower." Pushing the EEC on beef and what may prove a winner in this fall's congressional elections, but it faces tougher going on the ground.

To the extent that it poses a threat to the EEC Common Agricultural Policy, in many ways the linchpin of the whole Community structure, it will probably trigger a more pronounced trend toward protectionism than already exists in Europe. The upshot might be a trade war. ■

Tom Greensfelder

FRANCE

Austerity policies spark Socialist gains

By Nancy Lieber

PARIS

THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT has brought something new to political economy. Edmond Maire, leader of the socialist CFDT trade union, has called it "liberalism with an inhuman face."

This is not the 20th century political liberalism usually associated with government action to reform, to humanize capitalism. It is the 19th century economic liberalism of laissez-faire, anti-state intervention, free enterprise capitalism. And it is definitely new for France, where government has played a central, directing role in the economy since the end of the 17th century.

Why such a drastic change?

When the conservative majority was unexpectedly handed a victory in the March 1978 elections, the government made a significant decision. Since its former policies were not working in the face of increasing international economic difficulties, a new direction would have to be taken. And with no new elections until 1981 (presidential) and 1983 (legislative), the government knew it had virtually free rein to impose painful economic measures that might take up to two years to pay off. Thus, over the past six months, the French government has intensified its "Friedmanite cure" for France's economic problems.

People pay dearly.

Those problems are familiar to Western industrialized nations. In the 1970s and beyond, France must export roughly as much as it imports. It cannot resort to protectionist policies, since France's most expanding sector is precisely export-oriented industry. Therefore, the government must limit imports by restricting the purchase power of the great majority of people.

This has been done in two ways. First, the government is progressively removing traditional price controls on many French goods and services. Since the summer, prices in the public sector (transport, utilities, communications) and of food (bread, milk) have risen by 10-25 percent. This fall price controls on all industrial goods were removed, and as of January 1979 many controls on rent will also disappear.

Second, the government has moved to keep wages down. This has been done by threatening to cut off bank credits to enterprises that "give in" to union demands, by refusing to bail out failing industries with further state subsidies.

The government argues plausibly that low-paid or unemployed people won't contribute to higher import-spending. But it also contends that higher prices will not only bring corporations greater profits, they will also induce them to increase investments and promote over-all growth and prosperity.

To date, the price of economic liberalism is being dearly paid by the French people. Unemployment is at a post-war record high of around 7 percent (1,280,000 people) and climbing steadily. Inflation is up from 9 percent in 1977 to a current 11 percent. Public sector prices have not been held to the promised 6 percent but have gone up 12 percent. Investments are down to what they were four years ago. The national debt is at 100 billion francs and worsening. Key French industries, such as steel, textiles, ship-building, paper, building construction, are threatened with bankruptcies and shut-downs.

"In sum," Francois Mitterrand observed of the government, "you have solved the problem of zero growth. Thanks to you, we have it."

Socialist gains

The divided opposition has nevertheless taken up its mission of opposing the government. In this respect, the autumn has been very successful indeed, by a reinvigorated Socialist party. Ironically, the founda-



In a September by-election, Socialist Edvige Avice, seen here taking her seat in the Chamber of Deputies, defeated a long-entrenched Gaullist deputy.

In five elections since last March, the combined left has gotten 55 percent of the vote with the Socialists getting 34 percent.

ated Socialist party. Ironically, the foundations for the PS's recent vitality were laid by the conservative Constitutional Council when it invalidated five of the March 1978 legislative races for alleged electoral code infractions. The resulting series of by-elections between July and October led to overwhelming gains for the PS and losses by practically everyone else.

First, in July in the Paris suburbs, the Communist union of the left candidate (no socialist opponent on the first round) retained her seat with a gain of .8 percent compared to March. In August, in the south-west, the Socialist union of the left candidate (no Communist opponent) retained his seat with an increase of 1.36 percent over March.

Then in September in the north, the Communists decided to retain their candidate on the first round, even though the Socialist candidate had won the seat in March. Over 50 percent of the Communist voters defected to the Socialist candidate on the first round. The second round confirmed the Socialist's victory, with his margin going from 50.11 percent in March to 59.94 percent in September.

But there was more trouble ahead for both the majority and the Communists. In September in the Lorraine region in the east of France, Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, a "Kennedy liberal" who had flirted on and off with the government, hoped to retain his seat by promising governmental bail-outs for the region's steel mills, which were badly in debt and threatening massive layoffs.

On the first round (again with no common candidate of the left), the Communist candidate's score fell from 22 percent in March to 15 percent, but the Socialist's rose spectacularly from 26 percent to 37 percent. (In the legislative election of March 1973, the same Communist candidate had 19.6 percent, the same Socialist

candidate 9.4 percent.) The Socialist candidate, a worker, went on to capture the seat from Servan-Schreiber (who had won the seat by four votes in March), gaining almost 10 percentage points over his second round March score.

Finally, in Paris a week later, the long-entrenched Gaullist deputy lost his seat to the Socialist woman candidate by a score of 54 percent to 46 percent. Significantly, on the first round, the Socialist's score had risen from 22 percent in March to 33 percent, while her Communist opponent (also a woman) fell from 20.6 percent to 19 percent.

Taking together the performances of all five by-elections, the combined left advanced from 50 percent in the March second round to 55 percent; the combined majority slipped from 49.8 percent to 44.8 percent. Within the left, the PS advanced from an over-all 26 percent in March to 33.6 percent in the fall; the PCF fell slightly from 19.8 percent to 18.5 percent.

There are several explanations for these figures. The most obvious one is that by-elections provide an easy opportunity for voters, including those in the majority, to express dissatisfaction with governmental policies. Yet that doesn't explain why the Socialists gained rather than the Communists. That fact can only be explained as a repudiation by Communist voters of their party leadership, who have blamed the Socialists for the March defeat of the left. The last three by-elections suggest that the left voters perceived the PS as standing for union of the left, the PCF as practicing disunion of the left.

Public opinion polls in late September further confirmed the left's gains, as well as the growing disequilibrium within it. These polls gave the left 53 percent (56 percent counting the ecologists) to the majority's 44 percent, with the Socialists at 32 percent, PCF 18 percent, Giscardien UDF 21 percent, Gaullists 20 percent.

While by-election victories and favorable polls could not reverse the March general election defeat, they have fueled the recent PS offensive. On Oct. 4, Mitterrand introduced on the Assembly floor a motion of censure specifically condemning the government's economic policies. This was not done in the hopes of bringing down the government and forcing new elections—the combined left holds only 199 seats, with 246 votes needed to pass. Rather it was to emphasize left unity by forcing the Communists to vote with the Socialists and, very importantly, to illustrate the tenuous nature of the governing Giscard-Gaullist majority.

After 20 years in power, the Gaullists do not appreciate being relegated to the status of junior governmental partner. Furthermore, they are not economic liberals, but the European conservative variant of capitalists who believe in a generally active, paternal role for the state. To quote a Gaullist leader's statement of mid-September: "From the political, economic, social, military, foreign policy, and institutional point of view, we are not in fundamental accord [with our Giscardien partners in the majority]. This makes our participation difficult, but public opinion will understand...."

But will it understand, reasoned the Socialists, when the Gaullists are revealed in their hypocritical position of criticizing the government's economic policies when it doesn't count, yet endorsing them when an official motion of censure is involved?

A few days after the (failed) motion of censure, the PS continued its offensive. Mitterrand announced an onslaught on the "capitalist fortress that is the workplace." Its aim was to double the number of Socialist sections d'entreprises within large enterprises. Obviously it is also aimed at weakening the Communist fortress. PS militants know to exist there. Openly now, the Socialists are reasserting their "historic mission of representing the French working class."

Communist difficulties.

And what of the PCF? Since March 1978 the party is experiencing acute ideological, political and organizational confusion. As party dissident Jean Ellensstein put it: "The PCF is no longer what it once was [Stalinist] and not yet what it must become [Eurocommunist]. Hence

Continued on page 20.

**You can get it if you really want,
but you must try, try and try,
try and try, try and try...**

Socialism in Jamaica

A Report By Lucy Komisar



Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley at dinner with Michael Harrington, Lucy Komisar and other members of the American delegation.

THE AMERICANS WERE LACONICALLY taking in the sights of sugar cane and coconut trees on Prospect Plantation outside Ocho Rios when the guide stopped the open touring wagon and pointed to one of the trees planted by famous people. "By Henry Kissinger," he said, and to the astonishment of the guide and five Swedes on the tour, the Americans exploded into a chorus of boo's.

A few days later, at a luncheon in Jamaica House, Prime Minister Michael Manley roared with laughter at the story. Kissinger is not well liked by this government. Officials say he tried to destabilize the country by stopping U.S. loans a few years ago after Jamaica raised taxes on foreign bauxite companies and Manley declared a national policy of democratic socialism.

The Americans were in Kingston in September to talk with government ministers and labor leaders, visit development sites and attend sessions of the annual conference of the Peoples National Party (PNP). The group included staff of the United Auto Workers and the American Jewish Committee, an aide to Rep. Ron Dellums (D-CA), a Democratic district leader from the South Bronx in New York, several journalists and college teachers, and Michael Harrington, the American socialist who had organized the trip.

Relations with the U.S. have improved since Kissinger left office. The Carter administration started loans moving again, and the AID program reached \$63 million last year, more per capita than to any other country in this hemisphere. Rosalynn Carter and Andrew Young visited Manley in Jamaica, and the Prime Minister called on Jimmy Carter in Washington.

Jamaica, country of just over two million people, became independent from Britain in 1962 but still belongs to the Commonwealth. Most Jamaicans are black, but there is a sprinkling of wealthy Indians, Chinese and Jews. Less than 4 percent of the land is urban. The economy still runs on the colonial model, trading commodities like bauxite, bananas, sugar and famous Blue Mountain coffee for finished products from the industrialized world.

It is a poor country. For 85 percent of the people, annual income is under \$200. I saw people transport goods on donkey carts as well as trucks, women walk with burdens on their heads and goats roam main streets alongside modern shopping centers. Unemployment is 15 percent for men, 35 percent for women and as much as 50 percent for urban youths. Still, I noticed no swollen bellies or barefoot, ragged children.

Jamaica has a complex heritage, a combination of the British tradition of political democracy and the

black nationalism of Jamaican heroes like Marcus Garvey. Manley studied at the London School of Economics, and his program for a mixed economy shows the influence of the British Labour Party. His father Norman, a lawyer, organized the PNP in 1938 out of a rebellion of sugar and port workers that brought the country to a standstill. The elder Manley had worked with the British Fabian socialists and had ties to the Labour Party.

Now a handsome, articulate man of 54, Manley was a trade union official for 20 years. When his father retired in 1969, he inherited a weak opposition party. But he built it up to win its first legislative victory three years later. In 1976, the PNP took 47 seats in Parliament to the Jamaica Labour Party's 12.

Manley is unquestionably the most popular figure in Jamaica, although something of an enigma to political analysts. In a country where color caste has been as important as class, he is the light-skinned child of a light black father and a British mother who is an accomplished artist. Most of the light, upper class threw its support to the right, but the Manleys are a family of the left.

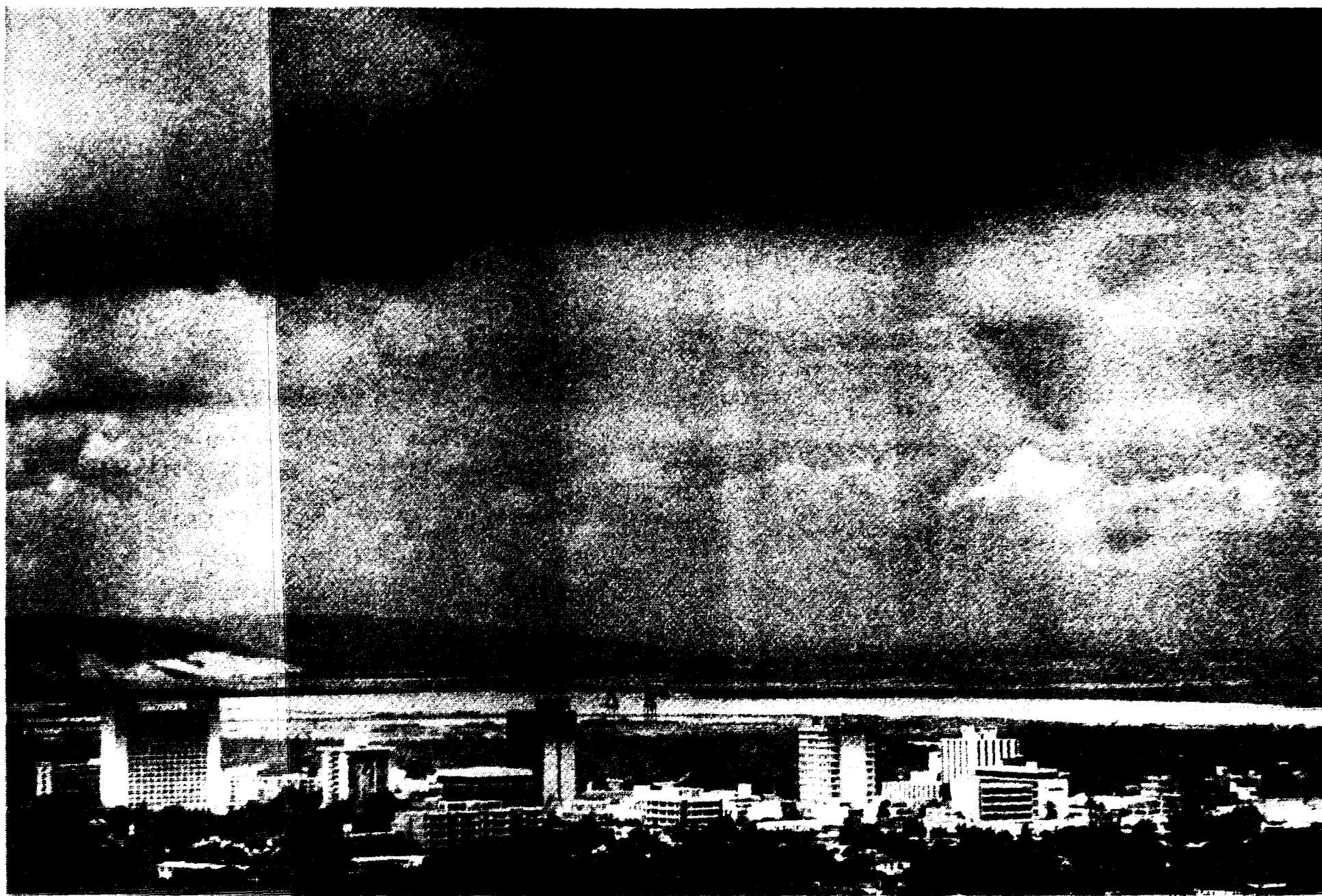
Ordinary people call Manley by his first name as if he were a neighbor or friend. Once I ran into him in the lobby of the Sheraton-Kingston hotel where foreign guests attending the 40th anniversary PNP conference were staying. He walked with only a couple of aides, no one had cordoned off his route, and he stopped to chat and to apologize that his wife was ill and he had to cancel an interview.

Manley has moved the party to the left with a socialist program, though moderates still predominate in the PNP and no one is sure exactly where he falls on the political spectrum. He has kept the party together with sometimes radical rhetoric, moderate policies and confidence in his own dedication and integrity.

Jamaica faces staggering problems, typical of underdeveloped countries. The prices paid for the country's raw materials have been going down while the cost of imported manufactured goods has climbed. In 1973, oil prices gushed up and Jamaica was paying \$180 million a year for imports that had cost less than \$55 million a year before.

When Jamaica tried to pull itself out of the hole, it ran into multinational corporations. Manley sought to increase his country's income in 1974 with a new levy on the American and Canadian aluminum companies, which owned 80 percent of the bauxite reserves, the source of 35 percent of its foreign exchange. Taxes had been based on the price of the red ore, which had been fixed abnormally low by the companies who were the sole customers.

The Manley government set a 7.5 percent levy on the selling price of aluminum ingots, and increased revenues by 480 percent. The government also announced it wanted to buy back the mine lands and lease them to the companies, and it wanted the right to buy refining plant shares.



Peter Simon

The companies filed suit with the World Bank's international Center for the Settlement of Investment Disputes and the Nixon Administration instituted a policy Manley called "destabilization." AID grants, government credits and private loans dried up. There were cutbacks in production and a 20 percent reduction in U.S. imports. Strikes doubled, and there was suspicion that the companies were provoking the disruptions.

In the end, the bauxite firms accepted the levy and agreed to sell 51 percent of their mining assets and lands to the Jamaican government with an option to buy plant shares.

Meanwhile, other crises arrived. One was a decline in the price of sugar. In 1975, the value of sugar exports was \$140 million. A year later, with almost the same production, it had fallen to \$62 million. Jamaica was steadily sinking into debt as export prices did not meet the cost of imports. Double-digit inflation pushed prices up, unemployment festered and social unrest finally erupted into violence in Kingston in 1976. Manley declared a temporary state of emergency.

Headlines in the American press caused tourism to drop off drastically. Empty hotels in Ocho Rios and Montego Bay, far from the urban troubles, turned the second most important source of foreign exchange into a national economic disaster.

Only the International Monetary Fund could bail Jamaica out. Some talks had been held with the Russians, but they reportedly decided that \$3 million a day to keep Cuba afloat was all the largesse they could afford in the Caribbean.

The IMF's terms were harsh. For a \$74 million loan, it demanded a wage freeze, a nearly 40 percent devaluation and a severe cutback in government spending. Local price controls were removed and local taxes went up. Money put into expanding production instead of consumption was supposed to raise prices in the export market.

That did not happen. The local market shrunk and exports did not increase; so workers were laid off. The cost of living mounted another 20 percent in the party's first two months. On sidewalks and walls, there are still scrawled the painted slogans of the rival JLP: "The poor can take no more!" On the left, some critics said Jamaica should go it alone.

A YEAR AFTER THE AGREEMENT, Manley sat on the dias at the party's annual conference. The National Arena was draped with orange banners, including one that said, "Comrades in production for survival." Manley told the thousand dele-

gates sitting on rows of yellow metal chairs that there is no choice but to accept the IMF conditions. "Comrades, it is a rough time. It is not a time for distribution and for reaping. It is a time for sacrifices and sowing."

And it is a time of scarcity. Newspapers daily list shortages of rice, soap, spare parts for vehicles, printing paper for architects. A supermarket near the Sheraton Hotel has empty shelves or aisles stuffed with only a few products. Eighty percent of Jamaica's foreign exchange goes for debt service and energy imports, and there is not much left over to buy goods made overseas.

Jamaica has to expand its export earnings by increasing and diversifying production and making more domestic substitutes. To do that, it must develop the skills of its workers and stop the professional and technical class from leaving the country.

"Our main export is the export of trained personnel," Arnold Bertram, chairman of the PNP policy committee and Minister of Culture, told the visitors. Unskilled workers leave, too, to labor on American farms or find opportunities in Canada or England. "There are more Jamaican workers abroad than in Jamaica," said Bertram. The unskilled migrants are a boon for they send money home.

As leader of the "group of 77" (actually 115) non-aligned nations, Manley's battle cry in world forums is for a new international economic order. The group wants to change the way the world sets prices for raw materials and finished goods so they reflect a stable value set on workers' labor.

He also wants to restructure the IMF. "The IMF creates hardships that make it difficult to maintain stability," explained Derrick Heaven, the chairman of the party's Foreign Relations Committee and a parliamentary secretary. He raised that issue at a welcoming meeting on the first working day of the trip and repeated it again and again.

The problem is how to enforce sacrifices on the people without jeopardizing democratic institutions or provoking crime and rebellion. Jamaica is trying to pull itself together with a program that is part socialism, part nationalism and part economic pragmatism.

The Peoples National Party called itself socialist in 1940 soon after it was organized. Only in 1974, however, was a platform announced. It guaranteed the right of private enterprise as long as it acted in the best interests of the country. The government would not expropriate property. It might buy out a company or buy shares of stock as it had in the cement and flour mill industries, and it would promote local cooperatives. "Under socialism, capitalism is a guest in the house of the people," Manley said.

Nationalization of industry is a central issue in Jamaica, as it is in socialist parties in Western Europe. The government owns less than 15 percent of the economy. Arnold Bertram, who is on the PNP left wing, said, "There are those who lack confidence in the econ-

omy, who don't see how capitalist production can be replaced."

Party documents spend more time on social control—through community councils for local production, worker participation in public and private enterprise and cooperatives—than on nationalization. Clearly the party does not want to frighten off either the middle class or foreign capital. Notions of "class war" have been replaced by the idea of "class alliance," workers and farmers with democratic middle classes; many party leaders come from these educated groups.

The Manley government has taken some steps in the socialist direction. It nationalized the bus, power and phone companies and bought Barclay's Bank. A state trading corporation is now the sole importer of food, medicine, textiles, educational and other materials. This government also bought out the sugar plantation owners and set up 20 cooperatives worked by 4,500 former sugar estate laborers. But the sugar cooperatives have not been successful.

The land reform program is also socialist, albeit moderate. A lot of Jamaica's best land has been owned by foreign investors or local people who did not develop it. The PNP platform asserts that land must be used for the benefit of the community. But the land-lease program, which has already distributed over 40,000 acres to more than 22,000 farmers, is slow-going. The land is paid for, not expropriated.

Manley and his PNP comrades go out of their way to distinguish their goals from communism. They rarely say the word "socialism" without prefacing it with "democratic." The PNP conference delegates reaffirmed the right to form or join any political party and to compete for power in democratic elections and the right to own private, personal and productive property consistent with the needs of the majority of the people. Freedom of speech is demonstrated by the opposition *Daily Gleaner's* virulent attacks on the PNP government.

TO PARTY LEADERS, SOCIALISM means taking hold of the economy so the country stops getting the short end in international trade. For the mass of voters, it means jobs, housing, education—scarce under the old system. Jamaica has a series of programs to answer those needs. It established a minimum wage of \$30 for a 40-hour week and set up a public workers program for the unemployed. A self-help housing program has added several thousand three-bedroom homes for workers whose low incomes and large fam-

ilies had condemned them to corrugated metal shack slums without plumbing or sanitation.

On a rainy afternoon, I saw a man stacking cinder blocks at the future walls of his living room. A woman proudly showed me through her finished home and pointed out the laundry room that was not quite done. The government provides the foundation, builds roads, puts in water, sewers and one wall. The homeowner builds the rest and hires specialized help with funds from a credit union mortgage payable on an average of \$30 a month for 25 years.

In a national literacy program, hired teachers train 11,000 volunteers to run classes in the urban slums and rural villages. They use churches, town plazas, backyards, whatever is available. When the project started six years ago, as many as half a million people over 15—40 to 50 percent of the population—were functionally illiterate. Now 200,000 of them have been through JAMAL, the Jamaican Movement for the Advancement of Literacy, with T-shirts and graduations to advertise their progress.

The Manley government has also ended fees at secondary schools and for Jamaicans attending the University of the West Indies.

The PNP, like the British Labour Party, was the creation of a national trade union, and it shares with its British model the influence of its labor origins, including the idea of worker self-management. That is the program of industrial democracy practiced in Germany, Scandinavia and elsewhere in Europe, which gives workers a share of decision-making on corporate boards, the shop floor, or both.

The government plans to introduce legislation requiring worker participation in private and public enterprises. The areas of decision-making will be negotiated by unions and management. The government guidelines suggest they include changes in work organization; staff development and training; changes in the line of business; plant expansion and reorganization; safety; cost monitoring; welfare programs; and internal communication and recreation.

Industrial democracy should increase productivity and reduce worker alienation. The National Workers Union, affiliated to the PNP, supports the idea, which in Europe is popular with socialist but not communist unions. (The American AFL-CIO opposes worker self-management; while the United Auto Workers supports it.)

The NWU, the Bustamante National Labor Union allied to the JLP, and several smaller unions represent about a third of Jamaica's workers compared to 20 percent in unions in the U.S. Under Manley's administration they won the right to organize and be recognized if they won plant elections.

There is a nascent women's movement in Jamaica. One of the surprises in the election of PNP officers was the victory of 28-year-old Portia Simpson who ran for one of four vice presidential posts. She represents the Kingston slum where she was born and has risen fast in politics, because she is articulate, militant and attends to her constituents' problems.

She is also a leader of the "Women's Movement," the branch of the PNP that used to be known as the "Women's Auxiliary," but changed its name last year. Movement "convenor" Beverly Manley is the Prime Minister's wife, but that does not stop her and others from criticizing party sexism. Women do not share equally in party decision-making, and there are not

enough women MPs, they charged. They said the party did not have a positive policy to ensure equality of women, and demanded equal representation on all party committees and bodies, which they have not yet gotten.

Women are more than half the members of the party. At the conference, they were in the majority—but confined to the audience. They only women on the platform were Beverly Manley; Women's Bureau director Carmen McGregor; former Kingston Mayor Iris King, who flew down from New York where she is a hospital administrator; and Michael Manley's mother.

Jamaican women also have a harder time than men in the world of work. Men still dominate the top jobs in government service. Women do the menial work in agriculture, and they are most of the "higglers," the market vendors who sell 85 percent of the country's food. Others work in factories or as domestic and service help.

The government recognizes the need to train women in non-traditional jobs, and to knock down psychological barriers. The literacy program includes pamphlets about women national heroes, and there has been some consciousness-raising among party leaders. Derrick Heaven told the visitors: "I have to be careful what I say [about the Women's Movement] lest I appear to be chauvinistic." Portia Simpson's election was considered a breakthrough for women. An attempt to elect Carmen McGregor the year before had failed.

There is no independent feminist movement to speak of, although an organization of about 100 women called the Committee for Women's Progress, was formed in 1976 out of International Women's Year activity. It is campaigning now for three months paid maternity leave. Manley has set up a commission to study the question, although the IMF rules that maternity leave is a benefit subject to the 15 percent wage increase limit.

The government did please feminists by setting up a family court to protect mothers and children. It also abolished the status of illegitimacy that had weighed heavily on the poor.

IN MUCH OF WHAT IT DOES ON A domestic level and in its political ideology, Jamaica resembles the social democracies of Western Europe. U.S. officials do not consider that a threat. "Our policy is that Jamaicans can organize their system any way they want to," said an American official in Kingston. "This is a free and independent country. We work with social democrats all over Europe. This administration doesn't worry too much about the word socialist," he said.

But the U.S. is not pleased about the Jamaican government's close relationship with Cuba. There are official visits and exchanges and the Jose Marti technical school was built by the Cubans as a gift. Cuban visitors to the PNP conference were greeted with emotional applause. People see Cuba as an ex-colonial country

that has made it.

"Cuba is the most advanced of all Caribbean societies," said Arnold Bertram. Bertram added, however, that Jamaica follows an "evolutionary" politics. "It's not that you can choose to be Cuba. There are no such choices. We didn't have a revolution. But we definitely respect the achievements of the Cuban revolution."

"We have never really taken a position on Manley's relationship to Cuba," said the U.S. official. "We will disagree with the Jamaicans when they support the Cuban adventures in Africa." The Manley government endorsed the Cuban involvement in Angola. The PNP identifies strongly with black Africa, perhaps more than with Spanish America.

"We consider them non-aligned," said the official. "They will support the Cubans, but they don't necessarily support the East European group. They are outspoken on the subject of human rights. They are a functioning parliamentary democracy with a legal system similar to ours—the British model with Jamaican overtones."

Jamaica, in fact, does not follow all Third World politics. The Manley government refused the application of the Palestinian Liberation Organization to open an office in Kingston.

Warnings about the threat of communism come from the inside in Jamaica from the opposition Jamaica Labor Party and its leader Edward Seaga, a businessman who went to Harvard. He is white, of Lebanese descent, and a spokesman for the conservative middle and capitalist class.

Seaga accused the Manley government of waste, corruption and policies that have reduced peoples' standard of living. His prescription is for "prudent financial management" to restore business confidence and the productive base of the country. His social platform calls for addressing "the moral conscience of producers so that the welfare of the people is not forgotten."

Seaga likes to paint his party as moderate, but when the JLP was in power, it banned the writings of Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael and other nationalists and radicals, and it deported a university student who started a nationalist movement in the late '60s.

There are critics who share the PNP's vision but are acerbic about its failures. Dawn Ritch owns an advertising and public relations agency, writes a weekly column for the opposition *Gleaner* and serves on the National Hotels and Properties Board.

"There are recurrent expenditures but nothing to build capital," she said. "You have to have a little accumulation to distribute. You tell people they have to produce. The IMF could turn out to be a blessing. What the country needed in the first place can now be instituted with somebody else to cuss."

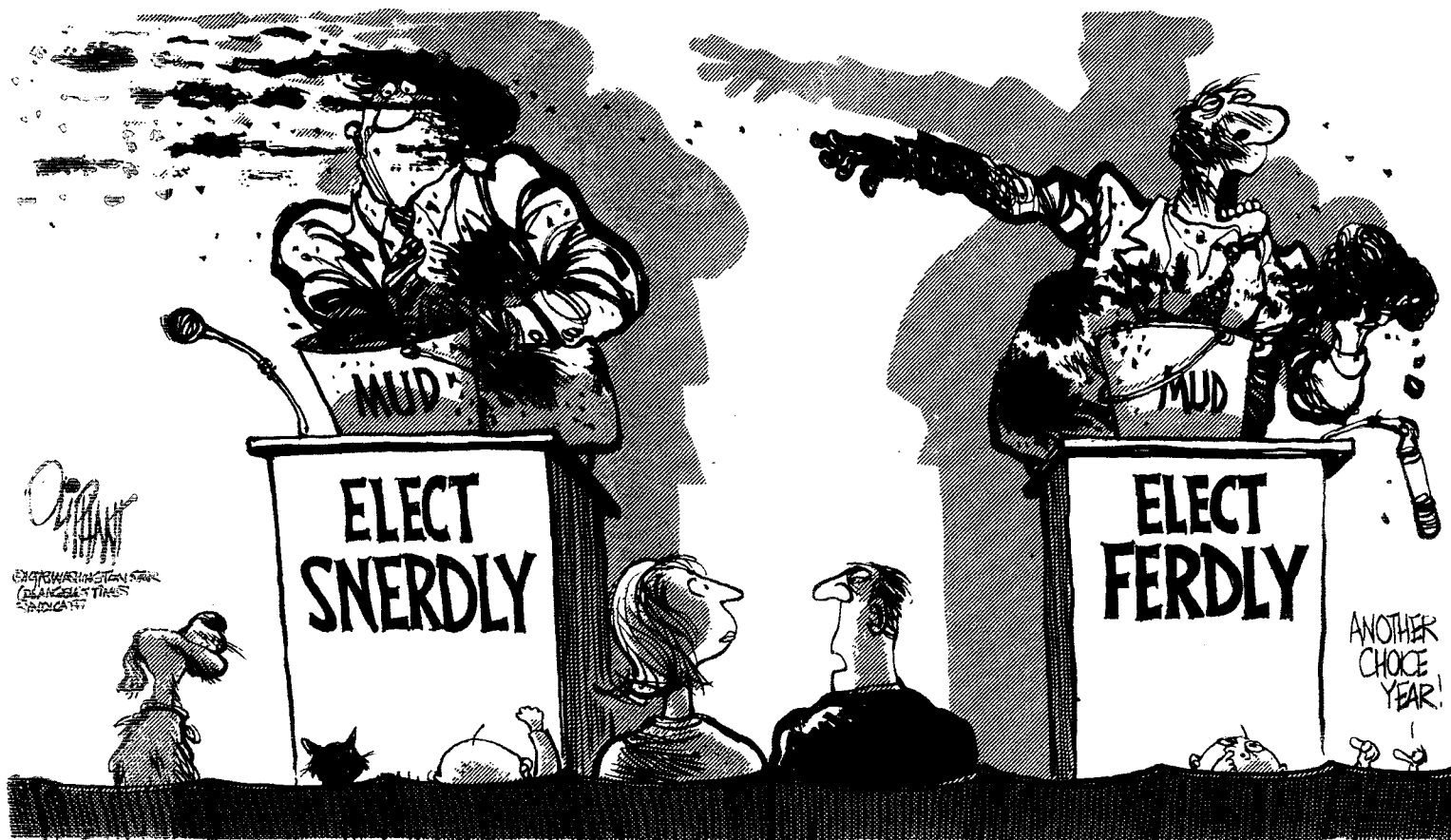
The watchword of the PNP now is "heavy manners," Jamaican argot for discipline. Manley's speech to the conference was an "ask what you can do for your country" list of tasks that ran from setting up community enterprises and pioneer youth farms, to volunteering as price investigators and stopping wildcat strikes, to not throwing litter on the streets.

Still, the country's fate depends much on what others will do. The U.S. official said, "They're asking for a transfer of resources. I don't think the developed countries are willing to do it in a dramatic way. Try to tell the American people they should get along with one car. There's a lot of truth that it's stacked against the Jamaicans. It's an historical truth."



IN THESE TIMES

EDITORIAL



'SNERDLY IS A PLAYBOY INCOMPETENT, BUT FERVENTLY IN FAVOR OF TAX-CUTTING, AND FERDLY IS A BRIBE-TAKING CROOK, BUT FERVENTLY IN FAVOR OF TAX-CUTTING--AND THAT'S ALL I'VE HEARD SO FAR!'

Johnson, Nixon, and now Carter

Once again, a loyal, "stable" ally, cast in the role of a "regional" counter-revolutionary policeman, has been overtaken by revolution and anti-American movements.

Once again, as the Carter administration's response to the Iranian people's revolt against Shah Mohammed Riza Pahlavi's autocracy shows, the American foreign policy establishment is defining the "national interest" as requiring support for an autocrat against democratic revolution.

What genuine American national interest would be threatened by a victory for democracy in Iran?

Would oil stop flowing? No. A democratic Iran would be no less interested than the shah in trading its oil for western technology, goods and services. Continued American attempts to keep the shah in power can only make Iranians more bitter toward the U.S. and incite recurrent upheavals that will disrupt the flow of oil and raise its price.

Would Iran become a "satellite" of the Soviet Union? No. Despite scare headlines, no responsible observer believes the Soviets have anything to do with the present revolt. The administration concedes as much.

On the contrary, the Soviet government, and more recently the Chinese government, have cultivated cozy relations with the shah. Except for the tiny and uninfluential Tudeh (Communist) party, Iranian opposition forces—from the National Front of Karim Sanjabi to the Moslem movement of Ayatollah Khomeini to "Marxist-Leninists" in the underground—are unanimously opposed to Soviet influence, as well as American.

Would a democratic Iran become a military threat to its neighbors? The U.S., through massive arms sales, has already made it such a threat. Along with demands for a parliamentary democracy, release of political prisoners, and social justice, one of the chief objectives of the Iranian opposition is to stop the squandering of billions of oil dollars on arms and their allocation instead to economic development and a more equitable distribution of income among the people.

American government support for the shah means imposing a regime resting on military force; a regime that has systematically suppressed popular liberties, out-

lawed all political parties except the shah's, banished religious leaders, jailed and tortured opponents, censored and banned the press and outlawed independent trade unions and strikes.

This is the regime installed by the CIA and American oil companies in 1953-54, in a coup against the National Front government of Mohammed Mossadegh, which had sought to establish parliamentary democracy and to use Iran's oil wealth for peaceful development.

Since then the shah has depended on American advisers to train his army and his secret police (SAVAK), and on American arms to suppress his opponents. He has turned control of Iran's economy over to multinational corporations like Exxon, General Motors, Bell, Xerox, B.F. Goodrich, Reynolds Metals, Caterpillar, Continental Telephone, and to the thin stratum of Iranian businessmen and bureaucrats tied into the corporate largesse.

Is it any wonder, then, that the Iranian democratic movements—whether Moslem, liberal, or Marxist—identify the shah's autocracy with American imperialism?

As a candidate, President Carter denounced huge American arms contracts with Iran (estimated at about \$20 billion since 1972). After his election he emphasized the primacy of morality and human rights in American foreign policy. Yet as President, he has continued the arms sales, appointed another CIA covert operations expert, William Sullivan, to succeed the CIA's Richard Helms as American ambassador in Tehran, proclaimed the shah America's loyal ally, "beloved of his people," and now declares full American support for the autocrat against the Iranian people. Shades of John Foster Dulles awarding medals to Cuba's Batista and the Dominican Republic's Trujillo in the 1950s, and Lyndon Johnson's dubbing Vietnam's Diem "the Churchill of Southeast Asia" in the 1960s.

The U.S.-Iran connection typifies the way in which the relations established by the American government with most other developing countries remain frozen in the imperial and anti-democratic mold of "cold war" diplomacy. At first justified on the grounds of "containing" international communism, it is now little more than a transparent cover for multinational corporate *realpolitik*.

Support of regimes like the shah's has nothing to do with the American people's real interests, which are to encourage democracy and self-determination among the nations, to establish friendly relations and foster trade and cooperation with other peoples, and to secure their respect for an American commitment to social justice and human rights.

Carter's policy in Iran serves none of these interests. It makes a mockery of American human rights professions. Again, it identifies the American people with reaction against the national and democratic aspirations of people in de-

veloping countries. And Carter's policy could lead to another Vietnam-type adventure. American intervention in Vietnam began with far fewer than the 40,000 American "advisers," technicians, and business executives now in Iran, and far less military material than is now in the shah's hands.

If the President will not stop this pro-shah policy, then as with Angola, Congress should be pressured to require him to do so. That may not be in the interests of the big corporations operating in Iran, but it would serve the real interests of the American people. ■

Still waiting for lefty

Whatever trends may be discerned from the 1978 elections, one indisputably stands out from all the others: continuing massive voter abstention.

Voter participation has been declining since 1960 in spite of the enfranchisement of blacks and of 18-21 year-olds since then. Of the over 150 million Americans eligible to vote, about one-half turned out in the presidential election of 1976, and less than two-fifths in the election this year.

In effect, the American political system is an affair of a minority of citizens, not of majority rule. And the minority is heavily weighted toward higher incomes and strong stakes in the status quo.

The American electorate does not represent a cross-section of the American people. For this reason, and for others such as the power of wealth in choosing candidates and defining issues, Americans cannot be said to be self-governing. Or, in the words of the distinguished political scientist E.E. Schattschneider, we are a *semi-sovereign* people, if that.

It is no coincidence that voter disgust and abstention has gone along with the disintegration of corporate liberalism (See John Judis' *Inside Story*, page 2), and the absence of a clear democratic left alternative in the electoral arena. This has given the right a clear field to define the issues. But voter disgust and abstention clearly indicates that millions of Americans view a choice between obsolescent liberalism and right-wing reaction as no choice at all.

It is significant that in areas like Missouri, Michigan, Philadelphia and Seattle, where labor and the left forcefully entered the electoral arena to defeat right-to-work and conservative tax initiatives or to stop anti-labor or racist politicians, people came out to vote against the right in large numbers.

Americans are, as the polls reveal, watching and waiting for a political movement that offers viable programs for dealing with inflation, unemployment, taxes, political and economic democratization—programs that only a democratic left can offer. But that means a left that is not afraid to challenge the sanctities of the "free market" with programs for a socially responsible economy under democratic rather than corporate control.

In reviewing Arthur T. Hadley's *The Empty Polling Booth* (*Wall Street Journal*, Oct. 27), former American Political Science Association president Austin Ranney concurred in Hadley's view that the millions of nonvoters are "a kind of political Vesuvius...if they are ever massively activated...they might precipitate radical and dangerous change." A candid acknowledgement of the basic conflict between the corporate order and democracy. While such change *would* be dangerous to big business and the right, voter abstention poses a clear and present danger to the prospects of democracy. Which is the greater danger? A democratic left can give the American people the chance to choose. ■

LETTERS

CHILD CARE

THE RED CENT COLLECTIVE'S REVIEW article on *All Our Children: The American Family Under Pressure*, overlooks the implications of the erosion of a current child care system with a unique history and still-interesting social possibilities.

Public support for pre-school programs began with the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. President Johnson's anti-poverty bill, the first legislative response with dollars to the civil rights movement's generalized demands for equality, included two notions:

1. The creation of instrumentalities independent of local government and other established institutions, with the "maximum feasible participation" of the poor, for sponsoring anti-poverty services and otherwise promoting institutional changes.

2. On the basis of a "deficit model" of minority family dysfunctionality, children of the poor required or deserved a "Head Start," a pre-school experience to compensate for the absent virtues that the middle class child derived from their stable, in-house, two-parent, pre-school experience.

The coupling of these two notions resulted in the development nationally of Head Start programs, some full-day, thereby also providing "day care" to enable single mothers of young children to seek employment.

What also resulted was the beginning of institutionalized community-controlled child care programs, which to varying degrees adopted progressive agendas—including promoting social change through organizing Head Start parents as a political force or as militant confrontationists, requiring parent involvement in pre-school curriculum, staff selection and location, which some hoped would later lead to militant constituencies for responsiveness to parents and children by public schools.

Head Start was defined as an experimental, not a universal program.

Amendments to the Social Security Act in the late 1960s enabled states to expand day care services to "present, past, and potential (emphasis added)" public assistance recipients. Community development advocates and some progressive or ambitious state officials recognized here an opportunity at least to secure federal funds for social programs, with consequent expansion of child day care, frequently under community auspices.

The only significant legislation of the 1970s that built on the ethic of delivery of services under community-based, non-governmental, auspices and that explicitly related delivery of services to community development and implicitly to

enhancement of minority and poor people's power was the Child Development Act of 1971.

Federal expenditures for child day care have increased dramatically during the past decade despite President Nixon's extravagant pro-family rhetoric ("Sovietization of American Children") when he vetoed the bill. But, as directed by Russell Long, powerful Senate Finance Committee chairman, the expansion has been through the state welfare apparatus rather than directly from the federal government to local non-governmental community bodies. Nonetheless, community rather than government sponsorship is the rule rather than the exception.

—Robert L. Bender
Plainfield, N.J.

WINNERS AND LOSERS

THE LETTER FROM CAROL AND MICHAEL Kort (*ITT*, Oct. 25) provides the *ITT* reader with an anecdotal, personal account concerning the value of fetal monitoring. But the message, that fetal monitoring saves children's lives when applied to low-risk births, has no scientific basis.

In a carefully done analysis of over 15,000 births, Neutra (*et al.*) were unable to show a benefit of fetal monitoring to the 76 percent of births that were lowest risk. Their data "suggest that there may be benefit from monitoring in the high risk groups." (*New England Journal of Medicine* 299:324-6)

The problem here is that a very costly bit of technology, the fetal monitor, has been introduced across the nation without any clear proof of its worth. Such technology often appears to be of benefit in isolated cases such as the Kort's. Anecdotal evidence is also used to support the opposite conclusion, that fetal monitors are dangerous.

The worth of such technology can be determined only by carefully designed clinical trials (human experimentation), on the basis of which the positive and negative effects of treatment can be assessed. Large clinical trials of fetal monitoring have not yet been done. Such trials are often avoided by the companies who make and profit from these machines.

The winners in all of this are the corporations who make these machines. The losers are the people who pay for health care.

—Susan Greene, R.N.
Patrick Murray, M.D.
Rand, W.Va.

A WORD FOR EST

WE ENJOY THE PAPER IMMENSELY and want to acknowledge you for giving us a Marxist perspective that works.

WITH A SUB-CONSCIOUS READERSHIP WE CAN'T MISS

Our readers may have too high a level of consciousness. Many love the paper and savor the range of our articles. Others are outraged at some of the views put forth by various writers. But for us to survive we need our readers to have a lower level of consciousness. We need you to be sub-conscious.

In short, don't just cogitate, help us propagate. If this copy belongs to a friend or if you bought it in a bookstore, subscribe today. If you already subscribe, buy a sub for a friend, colleague or fellow worker—or **renew your own sub now.**

SURVIVAL = SUBSCRIPTIONS

CAPITAL & LABOR: partners?

two classes — two views

VICTOR LEVANT

From John D. Rockefeller Jr. and the Employee Representation Plan to Samuel Gompers and the modern Business Union, the author traces the company-unionization of the trade-union movement and its progressive integration into the state apparatus.

A systematic study of the ideology of class collaboration. An original contribution towards a Marxist analysis of labor legislation in Canada and the United States.

276 p. Illustrated \$ 6.95
Includes a working bibliography

Available through
China Books & Periodicals,
125 5th Ave. New York 10003.
or 2929 24th St., San Francisco 94110.

Re your review of the movie, *The Big Fix* (*ITT*, Nov. 1), we would like to make one minor suggestion that relates to the use of the "est" (best) logo. We are close friends of believers and have done the est training ourselves, so we are concerned about accurate representation at all times. Thus, we expect you, as a responsible publication, to utilize the facts accurately as Werner and "est" have received a lot of "bad publicity." Thus, the logo should appear in small case letters, since it really means "it is" in Latin and thus should have appeared in print as "est" rather than "EST." Werner was not allowed to register the corporate name under the Latin (and thus "foreign") name and so he devised "est" into "Erhard Seminars Training," which we assume is where you "borrowed" the capitalization from. Thank you for being. We love you.

—Angela & Ted Mohr
San Francisco

WHAT'S IT ALL MEAN, ALFIE?

WHAT DOES JOHN CONYERS MEAN when he says "prioritize"? When Piero Gleijeses says "immobilism," what does that mean? And "monetarist," what does that mean?

I have been getting your newspaper since January and have been pleased mightily to find the least possible amount of jargon in its columns. But I do think that for a paper committed so thoroughly to bringing sanity and humanity back into politics, your staff should also be committed to an easily readable style.

Again, I am not saying you don't have such a style. But it is always possible to improve it, and without stooping to kindergarten words.

—D. Alan Curry
Dansville, N.Y.

MOM DID IT

ZILLAH EISENSTEIN'S REVIEW OF Christopher Lasch's new book, *Haven in a Heartless World* (*ITT*, Oct. 25) omitted one major observation that cries

out from the book's premises.

Lasch—perhaps unconsciously—is singularly anti-feminist. Eisenstein focuses on his weak Marxism but the anti-feminism is equally evident. Throughout the pages, the transformation of the American family occurs through the agency of women as mothers and wives.

All the social science and social work expertise that Lasch blames for undermining parental (read paternal) authority is introduced into the *inner sancta* by Mom. Much of the mental illness of modern youth that Lasch discusses, relying heavily on Hendin's research, concerns males whose collapse is traceable to terrifying sexual images of their mothers.

Back in the 19th century, American women began their "progress" of emasculating males by exerting "civilizing control" over the wilder primitive urges of mates to create bourgeois morality. Their onward march has been ceaseless and its success results from (a) social scientists' studies and (b) Dad's desire to have peace at any price. By mid-20th century, America's Moms are transformed by Lasch into the Thurbér cartoon where a tiny male creeps into a house that has Mom encircling the chimney. Only the state is left to take over.

None of the above is stated explicitly—it merely glares between the lines. Among other issues that a study of the family might raise, particularly a study dealing with "disintegration," are the questions of wife and child abuse, marital rape and father-daughter incest. Their omission stands out as a sign of the incomplete perspective in this study. But a book that notes in passing that the first years of a rising divorce rate coincided with the first years of higher education for women—and clearly bemoans the coming of divorce—gives its author's intense biases away.

—Sandi E. Cooper
New York

CORRECTION

In last week's issue, the copyright by Pacific News Service on the article by Ervand Abrahamian on Iran was inadvertently omitted. We regret the error.

LAWRENCE
HILL & CO.
Publishers, Inc.

BOOKS FROM
LAWRENCE HILL
PUBLISHERS:

SPECIAL OFFERS TO READERS OF IN THESE TIMES!

THE UNQUIET DEATH OF JULIUS AND ETHEL ROSENBERG

Alvin H. Goldstein

Reg. \$4.95 Now \$3.95 (paper)

EUGENE DEBS: American Socialist

Anne Terry White

Reg. \$6.95 Now \$4.95 (cloth)

NOT BY POLITICS ALONE: The Other Lenin

Tamara Deutscher, ed.

Reg. \$4.95 Now \$2.95 (paper)

WRITERS IN REVOLT: The Anvil Anthology

Jack Conroy and Curt Johnson, eds.

(Includes Erskine Caldwell, Nelson Algren, Frank Yerby and others)

Reg. \$3.95 Now \$2.95 (paper)

MAKE ALL CHECKS PAYABLE TO LAWRENCE HILL & COMPANY
ADD 50¢ POSTAGE AND HANDLING FOR EACH BOOK

Please send the following titles:

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

STATE _____

ZIP _____

SEND TO: In These Times

1509 North Milwaukee Ave.
Chicago, IL 60622

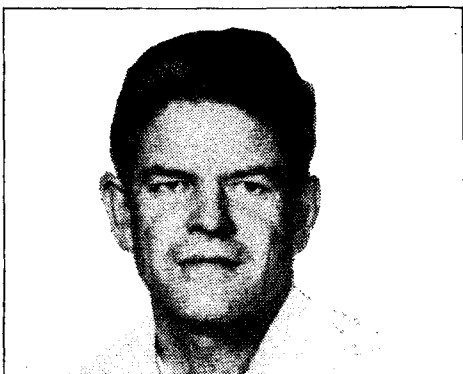
STAUGHTON LYND

LABOR & THE LAW

Do workers have the right to refuse to do unsafe work?

IN A LABOR LAW CLASS I AM teaching, a number of union members expressed confusion about a recent national article concerning the case of Marshall v. Daniel Construction.

The case concerned an iron worker in Georgia who, together with his crew, came down from a work station 150 feet above the ground because of high winds. The iron worker, Jimmy Simpson, refused to go back to work and was discharged. The Secretary of Labor took the dis-



charge to federal court. He argued that Simpson's refusal to go back to work was protected by an OSHA (Occupational Safety and Health Administration) regulation which gives a worker the right not to perform an assigned task which he or she reasonably believes creates a real danger of death or serious injury.

The federal district court held that the regulation was contrary to the intent of Congress in enacting OSHA, and therefore, that Simpson was not protected by it. The circuit court of appeals affirmed.

The U.S. Supreme Court decided not to review the decision. This does not necessarily mean that the Supreme Court agreed with the decision. Often the Supreme Court waits until several circuit courts consider an issue before reviewing a case in which the issue is presented.

Moreover, the action of the Supreme Court does not mean workers no longer have the right to refuse unsafe work.

In the first place, many contracts permit a worker to refuse to do unsafe work. An example is the Basic Steel Contract. Article IX, Section 3 of the contract currently in effect between Youngstown Sheet and Tube and the Steelworkers states:

"If an employee shall believe that there exists unsafe condition, changed from the normal hazards inherent in the operation, so that the employee is in danger of injury, he shall notify his foreman of such danger and of the facts relating there-

to. Thereafter, unless there shall be a dispute as to the existence of such unsafe conditions, he shall have the right, subject to reasonable steps for protecting other employees and the equipment from injury, to be relieved from duty on the job." (If there is a dispute the employee has the right to be relieved if the Chairman of the Grievance Committee agrees with the employee.)

The Marshall case does not affect such contractual rights. It had to do only with rights under OSHA.

In the second place, Section 502 of the National Labor Relations Act (29 United States Code, Section 143) states:

"Nor shall the quitting of labor by an employee or employees in good faith because of abnormally dangerous conditions of work...be deemed a strike."

The Marshall case does not affect this statutory right. To be covered by Section 502, employees must (a) refuse work as a group, and (b) have some objective evidence for their belief that the work is unsafe. Under circumstances where employees can meet these two conditions, Section 502 provides just as much protection as the OSHA regulation found to be invalid in the Marshall case.

Staughton Lynd, a longtime civil rights and anti-war activist, practices law in Youngstown, Ohio. Readers interested in corresponding with Lynd can write him at 1694 Timbers Ct., Niles, OH 44446.

RICHARD L. SKLAR

To talk or not to talk: Zambia Pres. Kaunda's Decision in Zimbabwe

THERE WAS A RAY OF HOPE DURING THE RECENT VISIT OF Ian Douglas Smith, prime minister of Rhodesia, to the U.S. He and his three African co-members of Rhodesia's ruling Executive Council, namely, Senator Jeremiah Chirau, Bishop Abel Muzorewa, and Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, agreed to attend an all parties conference with leaders of the Patriotic Front guerrilla alliance. The hope created by this unexpected concession, however, was all but extinguished by the assault against guerrilla camps in neighboring Zambia and Mozambique, conducted by Rhodesian troops while the Rhodesian leaders, themselves, were still meeting with American officials in Washington. The appearance of irresponsible conduct on Smith's part was not altered by his subsequent denial of prior knowledge about the deadly raids.

Angered and dismayed, the guerrilla leaders and their allies (the Patriotic Front) appeared to back away from negotiations with the internal Executive Council. Julius K. Nyerere, President of Tanzania and chairman of the front-line president's committee, stated that an all-parties meeting with "no preconditions," as Smith had stipulated, would not be acceptable to the guerrillas. He added that Smith would have to accept the Anglo-American proposals of 1977 as the basis for negotiations.

It is, however, doubtful that Nyerere would wish to resurrect the elaborate Anglo-American proposals in their entirety. For example, the proposal to appoint a British Field Marshall, Lord Carver, as sole executive and legislative authority for a six-month transition period, is as unacceptable to the Patriotic Front as it is to the internal government. The idea has already been scrapped by British and American negotiators in favor of a representative ruling council.

Another one of the Anglo-American proposals would establish a fund, managed by the World Bank, to facilitate foreign investment and capitalist development projects primarily. This approach is contrary to both Nyerere's personal philosophy and socialist principles of his preferred faction in the Patriotic Front.

Nyerere's endorsement of the Anglo-American proposals would probably be

limited to these specific features: (1) democratic elections, administered by an impartial authority, and without provision for the disproportionate representation of minority racial interests; (2) the formation of a new Zimbabwe army that would be insulated from existing political conflicts. (Zimbabwe, it should be noted, is the African name for Rhodesia; all factions, including Smith's own party, accept it as the official name for the country once independence with majority rule has been attained.) These goals can only be pursued via negotiations.

While Nyerere attempts to reconcile conflicting principles, Kenneth D. Kaunda, President of Zambia, is torn by irreconcilable urges and needs. His defense force could neither repel nor punish the deep intrusion into Zambia by Rhodesian troops. Shortly before this humiliating experience, Kaunda had given in to economic pressures and restored rail transport (suspended in 1973) between Zambia and Rhodesia in order to import urgently needed fertilizer and export an immense backlog of copper.

Deeply in debt to the International Monetary Fund, Western governments and transnational banks, Zambia needs a cooperative relationship with her natural sister-state across the Zambezi river. She cannot afford to abandon the pursuit of racial justice by peaceful means.

Hardest hit by the latest Rhodesian attacks were Zambia-based elements of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and its military wing, the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA).

This movement is supported by the peoples of western Zimbabwe; it is backed militarily and politically by the Soviet Union and Cuba. ZIPRA units undergo training in Angola and operate against Rhodesia from forward bases in Zambia.

Joshua Nkomo is firmly in the saddle as leader of the ZAPU/ZIPRA movement. Since his release from detention in November, 1974, Nkomo has alternately and simultaneously negotiated with the Smith regime and fought it in the battlefield. His emphatic rejection of further negotiations, following the destruction of ZAPU base camps in Zambia by Rhodesian raiders, cannot be taken at face value.

Nkomo's power of decision is limited by the fact that he cannot govern Zimbabwe without the support of truly representative leaders from the northern, eastern, and southern sections of the country. His Ndebele-Kalanga coalition accounts for little more than 20 percent of the African population. Although the Kalanga are Shona-speaking, the vast majority of Shona-speakers, including the numerous Karanga, Zezuru, and Manika peoples, support rival leaders and movements.

In the eastern portion of the country, guerilla operations are dominated by the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and its military wing, the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA). This movement, based in Mozambique, relies largely upon China for training and supplies. Its chief political spokesman, Robert Mugabe, has less freedom of personal action than Nkomo. Mugabe's power of decision is severely restricted by his guerilla chieftains, notably Joshua Tongogara, the charismatic leader of Karanga guerillas, who are predominant in ZANLA.

Mugabe's personal influence is based mainly upon his reputation for revolutionary integrity rather than sectional support. In that respect, he is similar to his adversary, Sithole, whom he displaced as leader of ZANU in 1975. His political

situation at present is precarious.

If Nkomo decides to negotiate with the internal regime, Mugabe must lead his own party out of isolation to the bargaining table. Yet it would be difficult for Mugabe to precede Nkomo to the table because his "followers" would rather fight than talk. If he goes to the table prematurely, he may go alone and empty handed. Would it be better for him to decide, in agreement with Nkomo, to spurn the table and intensify the war? Only, it would appear, if China and Mozambique are prepared to back that course of action. Without full backing by China, in particular, ZANU would soon become a junior partner in the Patriotic Front.

If China wavers in her support for ZANLA, if Mozambique grows weary of the fratricidal war, then Mugabe would probably urge Nkomo to go with him to the table together. This, of course, is what Britain and the U.S. would like to see.

Nkomo's attitude will be influenced by Soviet policy. Should Zambia turn to the Soviet Union and/or Cuba for assistance in strengthening her defenses against Rhodesia and South Africa, the Soviet government would probably advise Nkomo to spurn early negotiations. However, a Soviet/Cuban military presence in Zambia might jeopardize Kaunda's own position and that of his good friend, Nkomo, as well. In extremis, Kaunda has turned to Britain for military support, not to the Soviet Union. And Britain has agreed to set up an air defense system in Zambia.

Time and again since the second world war, Zambia (formerly Northern Rhodesia) has been the key to political developments in central Africa. At the present time, Angola's turn toward rapprochement with both Zambia and Zaire has strengthened the hand of Kaunda. If Kaunda wants talks, they will be held. It is hard to see what he or Zambia has to gain by their deferral.

Richard L. Sklar is professor of political science at the University of California, Los Angeles.



One thing stands between the seal pup and the hunters' ship - GREENPEACE

Each spring, Greenpeace volunteers confront the hunters who club and skin almost all Harp Seal pups born on the ice-floes of Newfoundland. Greenpeace is changing the odds, and saving the seals. Send your contribution to: Greenpeace Foundation / 240 Fort Mason / San Francisco, CA 94123

Imagine a world without GREENPEACE

IN DEPTH

Official and real unemployment rates: the growing gap

BY HARRY BRILL

FOR GOOD REASON, POLICY MAKERS AND CITIZENS ALIKE closely watch the official monthly unemployment rate reported by the Labor Department. This rate measures the difficulty experienced by unemployed job-seekers in finding work, and so ranks among the important indicators of the state of the economy, influencing monetary and fiscal policies when joblessness rises. In fact, the official unemployment rate at the state level serves to trigger billions of dollars in federal funds to the various states.

Certainly evaluating the accuracy of the unemployment rate is no mere academic exercise, but one that is worthy of very careful scrutiny. To evaluate how reliable these statistics are requires addressing essentially two very different issues.

First, does the magnitude of measured unemployment actually reflect labor market conditions, or does it understate or exaggerate what is occurring?

Secondly, are the *trends* in the labor market accurate as recorded by the official statistics? For example, does a dip in the unemployment rate really signify an actual decline in joblessness? The issue of trends must be considered separately because although the level or reported unemployment could be inaccurate, the biases may be consistent enough to reflect whether unemployment is actually rising, falling, or stable.

Each month interviewers employed by the Bureau of Census on behalf of the Department of Labor contact 56,000 households to inquire about the labor force activities of the respondent and other members of the household.

The unemployment rate, computed from these survey responses, is the percentage of the total civilian labor force (employed plus unemployed) who are unemployed. In 1977, the year for which an estimate of the real unemployment rate will be attempted, the average monthly size of the labor force, that is, those who were working and seeking jobs, was about 97,400,000. About 6,800,000 were jobless, so the official unemployment rate was 7 percent.

Unemployed and uncoun-

The questions the interviewers ask to determine whether members of the households are unemployed are based upon a somewhat restricted definition of unemployment. In order to be counted as unemployed, one must have been actively seeking work within the past 28 days. But many people without work do not qualify—including those individuals who have tentatively given up the job search because they are convinced that they are unable to find jobs.

Generally speaking, the worse the unemployment situation, the more people become discouraged. The Labor Department estimates that the average number of discouraged workers in 1977 was 1 million, which if included in the unemployment statistics, as they should be, would add over 1 percent to the official unemployment rates.

There are also enormous numbers of women—the poor and the not so poor as well—who need to work but cannot because of inadequate child care facilities. According to the Household Survey, which periodically inquires about those who want a job now but are not seeking work, more than 1,200,000 women explained that they are constrained from doing so by their home responsibilities. From the perspective of employers, these women are out of the labor force because, practically speaking, they are unavailable for work. But from their own perspective these women are unemployed.

Others want jobs but do not look actively because they are convinced the market does not want them. Over 750,000 disabled and sick people informed the census interviewers that they want jobs now. They realize that they are—or could be—capable of working, but have internalized the bias of employers toward the handicapped and so do not actively seek jobs.

There were also 1.5 million students in school who were not counted as unemployed but want jobs now. Many of these young people need some income while attending school. They have not recently been seeking work because they have been unable to find jobs, not because they are students. In fact, many of these young people are being encouraged to warehouse themselves in educational institutions because jobs are not available.

Beside discouraged workers, students, disabled and sick persons, and those with household responsibilities who want jobs now although they had not been actively seeking work within the past 28 days, there are another 1,400,000 persons who have not been seeking work for "other reasons." We can speculate that among these are unemployed men who, although

their wives are working, want to work as well. Also, about 20 percent of those in the "other" category are 60 and over, which suggests that some are not actively searching for jobs because of age discrimination.

Disguised unemployment.

Altogether, there are almost six million persons who want a job now but have not been recently active in the labor market. Although only a million of them are classified as discouraged workers, these others have also been discouraged from seeking employment. Most of these almost five million individuals are among America's disguised unemployed, who have been neglected in the Labor Department statistics. If it is very cautiously assumed that only one-third really want jobs now, about 1.6 percent would be added to the official unemployment rate.

Another substantial group who are not counted as unemployed are parttime workers who want full-time jobs. Employed, to be sure, but only partially, these people are affected by slack work, bad weather, or inability to find full-time jobs. On the average, they work about half time, so that two of these part-time workers are the equivalent of one person who is unemployed—but are not counted in the unemployment rate at all. Since the Labor Department estimates 4.5 million such workers in 1977, this equals 2.25 million full-time unemployed, which is about 2.3 percent of the labor force.

Also excluded from the unemployment count are more than 750,000 workers in the category "unpaid vacations." Numerous establishments close down during vacation periods, leaving many employees without pay. An unpaid vacation is, after all, only a euphemism for a temporary layoff. Workers temporarily laid off because of weather are also classified as employed.

The Labor Department does not specify how many of the 230,000 workers per year who are laid off because of weather conditions are not paid. Probably most, but if we assume that only 100,000 of weather-related layoffs are unpaid, and then add on the 750,000 with unpaid vacations,

there were then 850,000 unemployed workers on these temporary layoffs, which adds 0.8 percent to the unemployment rate.

Two other omissions from the unemployment figures are worth noting. Since 1967, individuals who are 14 and 15 years of age, which is an age group whose unemployment rate is well above average, are no longer included in the aggregate unemployment rate. There is no other industrial country that counts only those 16 years and older in computing unemployment.

Liberal definition.

Also, there are almost half a million unpaid family workers in non-agricultural industries who are counted as employed though they receive no remuneration. Strictly speaking, persons doing work without pay are not defined as unemployed.

It may be that these individuals are receiving room and board in exchange for their labors. Perhaps some of them are involved in the family business as an investment in the future. It is also likely that many of those who work without pay are retreating into the family business because they are unable to obtain jobs elsewhere. For caution's sake, all the unpaid workers and young teenagers will be excluded in estimating real unemployment.

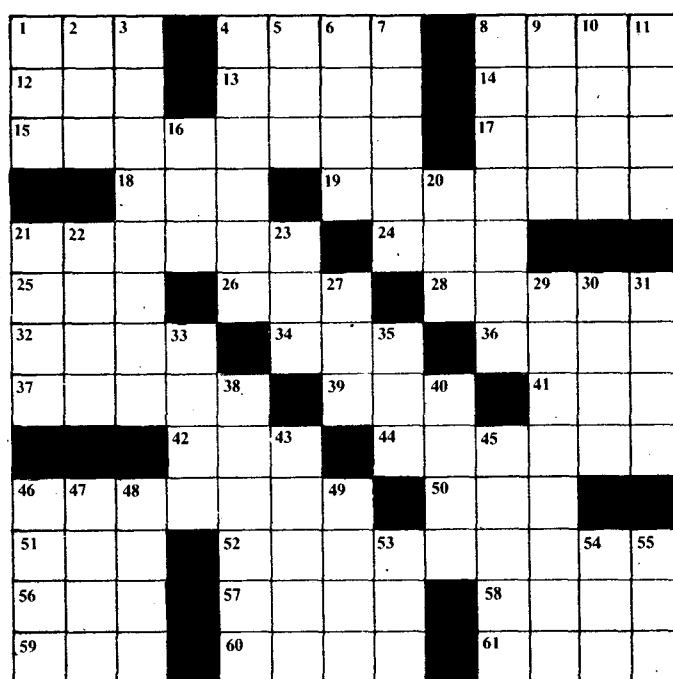
The Labor Department's habit of liberally defining employment to include tremendous numbers of people who are not receiving pay while being highly restrictive on who is counted as unemployed clearly biases the official unemployment rate toward underestimating the real extent of unemployment. The uncoun- ted unemployment rate thus far, is as follows: discouraged (who say so) 1.0, other discouraged 1.6, part-time unemployed 2.3, temporary layoffs .8. This adds up to 5.7 percent.

Adding the uncoun- ted unemployed to the official unemployment rate for 1977 (7 percent) yields, a real unemployment rate of 12.7 percent.

Harry Brill is a professor of sociology at the University of Massachusetts, Boston.

Capping the Clues

By Jay Shepherd



ACROSS

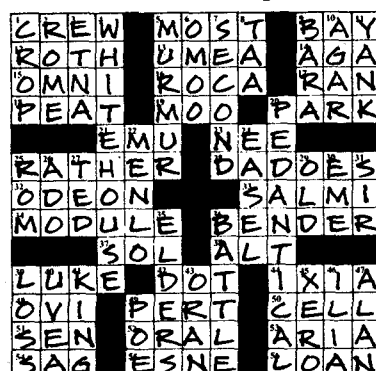
- 1 Pouch
4 Originate
8 Hardy girl
12 Mythical mountain
13 Vetch
14 Celebes ox
15 Photographic accompaniment, often
17 Pork dish
18 Measure
19 Actress Parsons
21 Stings
24 Yang's counterpart
25 ____ polloi
26 Maple tree product
28 Unfamiliar
32 Florence's river
34 Switch
36 Fulfill
37 Deportment (archaic)
39 Seaman
41 Gov. group in FDR's time
42 Decade's number
44 Guide
46 Philologist, for one
50 Former heavy-weight champ
51 "My name is ____" (Saroyan)
52 Ignominious headwear
56 Soviet river
57 Israeli port
58 Past
59 Eager
60 Yank's opposition
61 Dove's symbol

DOWN

- 1 ____ 'em! (attack!)
2 Nabokov novel
3 "____" Courageous"
4 Tasks

- 10 Potter's need
11 Reasonable
16 Craggy hill
20 Pedro's uncle
21 Type of carpet
22 Greedy one's cry
23 Espied
27 Mrs. Nixon, to friends
29 Race of sorts
30 To be (Fr.)
31 Word with guard
33 Empire or footstool
35 Sal of song
38 Japanese delicacy
40 Responds
43 Crusader Ralph
45 Robinhood's quaff
46 Did like the Titanic
47 Canadian Indian
48 Own
49 Word with slide
53 Seize, journalist style
54 Khan
55 Skin affliction

Answer to last week's puzzle:



Wats our line?

(800) 247-2160

Call our toll-free Wats number to order holiday gift subscriptions to *In These Times*. And don't forget *Class Struggle*, the sensational new board game!

Big Holiday Savings

A year of *In These Times*:

\$17.50 for the first gift

\$14.00 for the second gift

\$12.00 for each additional gift

Class Struggle—\$8.95 postpaid

CALL TODAY

Two great gift ideas at even greater holiday savings.

1. GIVE IN THESE TIMES

This year, why not share **In These Times** with family and friends? It's the thoughtful gift for the thoughtful people in your life. And, as a subscriber, you can give **In These Times** at the lowest available rates. What's more, the more you give, the more you save!

Look at these special holiday prices!

\$17.50 for the first gift—save 30% off the newsstand price!

\$14.00 for the second gift—you save 40%!!

\$12.00 for each additional gift—you save 50%!!!

And, as a subscriber, you don't have to pay anything now—we'll bill you after Christmas.

2. GIVE CLASS STRUGGLE

"More fun than Das Kapital" —*Monthly Review*

"Ingenious, original, entertaining." —*In These Times*

"Serious" —*The New York Times*

Certainly the classiest gift idea around, this sensational new board game is educational and fun too!

Class Struggle can be played by two to six players who represent different classes in society (a player's class affiliation is determined by a throw of the genetic die). The board represents levels in the class struggle. Players can pick up chance cards on designated squares. For instance:

"Your son is a heroin addict, your daughter has just become a follower of Rev. Moon. So what good does all your money do you? Worrying makes you forget your next two turns at the dice."

Beginner, Advanced and Tournament rules—for ages 8 to 80.

And, to make things easy, we've taken all the surplus value out of the price. You pay only \$8.95 each, a savings of as much as \$4.00 per game off what you'd pay in the store.

- Orders for Class Struggle must be received by November 25 to ensure delivery by Christmas.
- We will send you specially designed gift cards with which to announce your gifts.
- For even easier shopping, dial our toll free number (800) 247-2160.

SAVE ON THE FIRST GIFT

Please send the gifts I've checked to:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

☐ A year of **In These Times** at \$17.50

☐ Class Struggle at \$8.95

☐ **In These Times & Class Struggle** (\$26.45)

SAVE EVEN MORE ON THE SECOND GIFT

Please send the gifts I've checked to:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

☐ A year of **In These Times** at \$14.00

☐ Class Struggle at \$8.95

☐ **In These Times & Class Struggle** (\$22.95)

SAVE STILL MORE ON THE THIRD GIFT (and each additional gift)

Please send the gifts I've checked to:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

☐ A year of **In These Times** at \$12.00

☐ Class Struggle at \$8.95

☐ **In These Times & Class Struggle** (\$20.95)

(Please list additional gifts on a separate sheet.)

YOUR NAME _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

☐ Please send me _____ set(s) of Class Struggle at \$8.95 each.

Enclosed is my check for \$ _____

☐ Please bill me after January 1.

Charge my: ☐ Master Charge ☐ Visa

Account # _____

Signature _____

SEND TO IN THESE TIMES, 1509 N. MILWAUKEE, CHICAGO, ILL. 60622

Iran crisis

Continued from page 3.

wards the spirit of Camp David; threats to the security of Saudi Arabia as a result of the crisis of the shah; and a worsening geo-political picture.

Afghanistan tilts to the Soviet Union; the military regime in Pakistan is shaky; the shah totters. Amid such far-ranging upheavals, an accord between Israel and Egypt becomes much reduced in political importance.

For Iran itself, the overall crisis will persist no matter what happens in the next days and weeks. Iran has supported its economy on oil, which won't last indefinitely. It will run out, on some accounts, toward the end of the 1980s, and then Iran will have no money to buy food

to feed its population. This is the harsh reality behind the shah's dream of an industrial empire he had hoped would rank as the fifth greatest in the world.

His achievement, contrary to such hopes, has been the almost impossible feat of uniting every class against him. What Iran is presently experiencing is a popular revolt. In this situation he can rely on no one. For what will happen if the soldiers themselves refuse to turn their guns on the conspirators against the Peacock Throne—the large bulk of the Iranian people?

Alexander Cockburn and James Rideway write the "Moving Target" column each week in the *Village Voice*, from which this article is adapted. ©1978 PNS

French Socialists

Continued from page 11.

its present difficulties, its identity crisis, its uneasiness, and, paradoxically, the reinforcement of its siege mentality."

The basic problem for the PCF is that its strategy of the last year has not brought the anticipated results. By sabotaging the left victory in March, the party hoped to salvage its own remaining strength, and weaken, if not destroy, the Socialist party's growing momentum. It seems that PCF voters and militants, on the other hand, desperately wanted a union of the left electoral victory.

Rather than admit to different priorities (self-preservation versus working-class governmental power), the PCF has stubbornly continued its anti-Socialist campaign, explaining away its recent by-election losses as due to a national media

"anti-communist campaign" rather than as a rejection of the party line by its own voters.

The Socialists are counting on and are pressuring the PCF to return to union of the left. This would be a total vindication of the Socialist strategy from 1972 on, with an important difference. In March 1978, a left victory would have seen the Socialists and Communists on a nearly equal plane with regard to popular votes and thus governmental/ministerial power. The next time around, it is entirely possible, even likely, the balance of power on the left will be two to one in favor of the Socialists.

Nancy Lieber teaches political science at the University of California, Davis. She is doing research in Paris.

Arab summit

Continued from page 9.

Palestinian state has ended the debate over whether the demand for such a state is sufficient—every PLO faction now accepts it—and has persuaded all that continued active resistance is necessary.

However, there are some Palestinians—reportedly including PLO chairman Yasir Arafat himself—who still hope to achieve a settlement by building ties to the U.S. American sources in Damascus confirm that at least indirect contacts between American diplomats and the PLO continue. Saudi Arabia is said to be the prime link, and Khalid al-Hassan, one of the top five PLO leaders, is said to be in regular contact with the Americans.

While Israel would like to destroy or ignore the Palestinian movement, the U.S. is apparently trying to win over part of it—West Bank and Gaza "moderates" (that is, pro-Jordanians), and non-radical elements within the PLO itself. The DF-LP sees this as an attempt to sow discord and split the Palestinian movement. It does not believe that the Carter administration is really interested in achieving Palestinian self-determination.

Conversations with American sources in Damascus tend to confirm this view, too: the Camp David accords are seen as a success. Prime importance is given to completion of the Egyptian-Israeli treaty, and only a vague hope is expressed that the other problems will then work them-

selves out.

Thus, unless Sadat changes his present course—which should not be dismissed as totally impossible, given his record of big surprises—the next stage looks like this: moderate but continuous American suggestion to its many friends in various quarters to exploit any chance to broaden the Egyptian-Israeli framework. If the prospects do not look good, however, the Americans can easily wait. Many aspects of the new axis with Cairo and Jerusalem remain to be worked out.

Meanwhile the Palestinian left and its allies will do their utmost to prevent such an opportunity for a U.S.-sponsored settlement. They continue to maintain that only a comprehensive solution, involving all of Israel's neighbors plus the PLO, and backed jointly by the U.S. and USSR, can bring a just peace to the region.

One cannot fail to be impressed by the dedication shown by leftists in the Palestinian movement to the future of the Palestinian and Israeli peoples, and by their steadfastness against what really do appear to be American schemes to divide and rule the region. But given the class nature of most Arab regimes, and the fact that the Palestinian movement as a whole still relies on alliances with such uncertain friends, the Mideast is likely to be victimized by a very bad "peace"—and by the continuation of national and sectarian conflict on various fronts.

California third parties

Continued from page 5.

issues. They favor legalization of marijuana, decriminalization of prostitution, and abolition of all victimless crime laws. And they score abuse of government power by the FBI and CIA as fervently as any leftist.

This is where they part company from the mainstream of the GOP. The Libertarians are fervently pro-free enterprise without the pious moral pretense and self-serving patriotic fervor that mark most

Republicans. They are also anathema to corporate Republicans because of the libertarian stand against subsidies to business.

The Libertarian critique of the Democrats centers around the demands of labor and their perception of the willingness of the party in power to "plan" the economy. During the recent campaign, Clark expressed great pleasure at Brown's declarations that "California is still the land of opportunity" and at the Gover-

nor's strong stand against pay raises for public employees.

On the Republican side, Evelle Younger took great pains to repeatedly declare that he was a friend of free enterprise. But Younger's record was sullied by a lifetime of government jobs and strong law-and-order rhetoric.

In the final analysis, the inroads made by the Libertarians and the general political malaise that has gripped the California public stem in large measure from the lack of leadership offered by the major parties and the left. The pundits are scratching their heads to recall a more

boring political year than 1978. The race boiled down to the repetition of trivia—whether Brown had ever tried pot, or if the Governor might marry his sometime escort, singer Linda Ronstadt. The other statewide races degenerated into mudslinging campaigns in which the more vicious were often the victorious.

If such political conduct is the norm, it's almost a surprise that the Libertarians didn't do better. "Once," said Clark after the election, "we were the 13th largest party in the United States. Now we're third. That's 11 down and two to go." ■

Cannery workers

Continued from page 8.

ers lawsuits "outside" the union as secondary. The meaningful battle is for leadership and control of the union itself. As with many other American unions, the critical issues now affecting the Teamster rank-and-file involve worker rights, not wages.

"Before it took you ten, 15 years to build up your seniority and make Bracket 1 (the highest job classification)," says Hernandez of Local 679. "Now each year you have to establish your bracket. Seniority don't mean a damn thing."

"Last year they had a 'labor shortage,' so they hired through Manpower and got outside electricians, mechanics, to do the jobs we used to do. And they aren't covered by the union. We went to the union and they didn't do a damn thing."

The election victory of Local 679 is only the beginning in CWC efforts to change the Teamsters from within. The CWC continues to maintain an independent Cannery Workers Service Center in



San Jose and hopes to have an impact on negotiations when the state-wide cannery contract comes up for renewal next year.

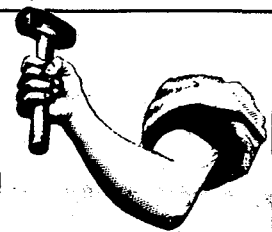
As Delfina Lozoya puts it, "The only recourse we have is the union. So the union must be made responsible." ■

Martin Brown is an agricultural economist at the University of California, Berkeley, and an associate editor of *Pacific News Service*.

(©1978 Pacific News Service)

(800)
247-2160

In These Times
and
Class Struggle
at holiday prices!



NOW APPEARING
TOGETHER IN PUBLIC:

POLITICS & EDUCATION

POLITICS & EDUCATION is a new magazine started by campus activists who believe that people in higher education have an important role in the growing struggle for progressive social change. It is a forum where campus activists can share experiences and resources and exchange ideas.

P&E's coverage ranges from personal experience to national and international developments. Recent articles have examined the job crunch for college and vocational school graduates, women's studies and women's lives on campus, the Bakke case, the future of affirmative action, alternative and adult education, faculty and staff unionization, college basketball, campus cultural life, a wide range of campus organizing efforts and much more.

There is a new and growing movement on American campuses. Increasingly, students, faculty and other staff members are challenging the imposition of narrow corporate priorities on the structure and content of higher education. P&E is a new voice for the new activism.

Lively and informative. It should be widely read.

—Noam Chomsky, M.I.T.

The cogent analysis of U.S. education in P&E is a real contribution to the growth of a progressive campus movement.

—Samuel Bowles, coauthor
Schooling in Capitalist America

HOW CAN I RESIST?

Send me a free copy of P&E in addition to my year's subscription (4 issues).

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

STATE _____

ZIP _____

Rates are student or unemployed \$5; employed \$10; institutions \$15. (Outside the U.S. add \$4). Please send check to Politics & Education, Wesleyan Station, Fisk Hall, Middletown, CT 06457.

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT



Rosaura Revueltas as Esperanza, heroine of *SALT OF THE EARTH*.

BOOKS

25 macho years after *Salt of the Earth*

SALT OF THE EARTH
by Deborah Rosenfelt
Feminist Press, 1978, \$4.95

Salt of the Earth is one of those films that the critics pan as pure propaganda, but that many people love. They are moved from pity to joy and respect by the courage of the heroic mining people it portrays. The story of an actual strike by predominantly Chicano workers at a New Mexico zinc mine in the early 1950s, *Salt of the Earth* employed strike participants (with a smattering of professional talent) as its actresses and actors, like strikers from Paterson, N.J., textile did during their famous 1913 "pogrom" at Madison Square Garden.

Filmed during the McCarthy era by blacklisted Hollywood artists, many of them Communists, *Salt* focuses on themes still topical today: oppression of labor, and the tools employed by management to keep working people divided. Especially, *Salt* is a powerful statement against sex role divisions. At the end of the film, and over the men's mistaken objections, it is the women of the tiny New Mexican mining community whose courage on the picket lines and in the jails brings the strike to a successful conclusion.

A new book by Deborah Silverton Rosenfelt, who teaches women's studies at California State University, Long Beach, takes a fresh and fascinating look at *Salt of the Earth*, a quarter of a century after it was produced. Rosenfelt was attracted to the film because it "presented housework, child care, sanitation as important political issues; that used humor to deflate macho attitudes...

that had chosen a woman as protagonist...a female hero who not only struggles and suffers but grows and wins."

Like the earlier book, *Salt of the Earth*, by Herbert Biberman who produced the film, Rosenfelt's volume includes the screenplay by Michael Wilson, and a fine summary of the making of the film. Production and distribution of *Salt* was a constant and often unsuccessful struggle against industry blacklisting, union collaboration in anti-communist witch-hunting, open attacks from the floor of Congress, refusal of

Some women now lead the union.

theaters to screen the film, and local vigilantism.

Rosenfelt's book adds to our understanding in new ways as well. She explores the roles women typically got in the films of that era: if good, they were docile domestics; if political, they were sinister embodiments of evil. And, unlike Biberman, Rosenfelt offers a thorough history of the real strike on which the film was based. But what gives her book its fresh interest is Rosenfelt's concern with what, after 25 years, has changed in the lives of the women portrayed in *Salt*.

To find out, Rosenfelt went to New Mexico to interview the people themselves. "I half hoped," she writes, "to find a little enclave of liberated women and men, equal partners in life. Of course that simplistic expectation was disappointed." In many ways, Rosenfelt found, the old sex roles, the "old way," had reasserted themselves in the community.

The women she interviews disagree about how much has changed; some families have gone farther than others. Certainly more women now work outside the home in jobs once reserved for men, and some are leaders of the union—now a United Steelworkers local. But, Rosenfelt concludes, "in spite of these changes, the 'old way' has shown a greater tenacity than seemed likely at the time... The feminist struggle may be the longest one of all."

The last chapter of *Salt of the Earth* defends the film from critics who bemoan its lack of ambiguity. It is a straightforwardly hopeful film.

Reading *Salt*, one wishes that Rosenfelt had given us more from the interviews she recently conducted with the people who were in the movie. But we want more just because her book is so interesting and moving. Perhaps it will encourage new filmmakers to produce more art like *Salt of the Earth*, and encourage people to go see the original.

John de Graaf is a free-lance writer in Minneapolis.

CULTURE SHOCK

EAT, DRINK, AND DRIVE

The three biggest magazine advertisers in the U.S., according to *Advertising Age*, are: General Foods, Seagram Co. and the Chrysler Corporation.

ALL DOWN-HILL FROM THERE

Why does the Post Office want to stop rip-off advertisements in comic books? Says a project spokesperson, "A kid's first experience with the free enterprise system should be a positive one."



ONLY \$5.00

THE FAMILY THAT VIEWS TOGETHER...

What happened when volunteer families tried West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's plan to close down TV one day a week to foster closer family ties? Fights broke out, children behaved badly, and conversations lacked subject matter. Proposed solution: that on the TV-less night theaters and movies have reduced rates.



DONALD SHAFFER ASSOCIATES, INC.

ALL FORMS OF INSURANCE

Specialists in Pension & Employee Benefit Planning

11 GRACE AVENUE
Great Neck, N.Y. 11021
212-895-7005
516-466-4642

IN THESE TIMES' spirit is inviting, not narrowly sectarian. You get a sense of solidity, of facts and ideas in constructive combination.

Gloria Steinem



SUBSCRIBE TODAY

- ☐ Send **IN THESE TIMES** FOR 4 trial months. Here's \$7.75.
☐ Send me 50 bargain weeks of **IN THESE TIMES**. Here's \$17.50.

Name _____
Address _____
City, State _____
Zip _____

Back issues available for \$1.00 each.

IN THESE TIMES, P.O. Box 228, Westchester, IL 60153

- ☐ Send **IN THESE TIMES** for 4 trial months. Here's \$7.75.
☐ Send me 50 bargain weeks of **IN THESE TIMES**. Here's \$17.50.

Name _____
Address _____
City, State _____
Zip _____

Back issues available for \$1.00 each.

IN THESE TIMES, P.O. Box 228, Westchester, IL 60153

- ☐ Send **IN THESE TIMES** for 4 trial months. Here's \$7.75.
☐ Send me 50 bargain weeks of **IN THESE TIMES**. Here's \$17.50.

Name _____
Address _____
City, State _____
Zip _____

Back issues available for \$1.00 each.

IN THESE TIMES, P.O. Box 228, Westchester, IL 60153

Short Notice



Debbie Harry of Blondie

Records

PARALLEL LINES

Blondie (Chrysalis Records)
Tough and lean rock showing that there's more to Blondie than Debbie Harry's pout and a bunch of Shangri-las/Ronettes sound-alikes. **bd**

GIVE THANKX

Jimmy Cliff (Warner Bros.)
Primarily because of his weakness as a songwriter, Cliff has never achieved the initial success of *The Harder They Come*. This rather innocuous album confirms Cliff's role as a conduit for reggae, rather than as an innovator. **bd**

HEARTS OF STONE

Southside Johnny and the Asbury Jukes (Epic Records)
If you had Bruce Springsteen feeding you songs, you might be pretty damn good too. The band's third album is also their best. **bd**

CA PLANE POUR MOI

Plastic Bertrand (Sire)
The debut album by Belgium's new wave sensation is loaded with raw power and sharp wit. Many of the French lyrics are utterly unfathomable, but with such catchy tunes it hardly matters. The title song, the number one hit in Europe, is a brilliant straight-ahead driving rocker, with a fantastic hook. When

Bertrand sings his "ooh" it's like Johnny Rotten meeting Brian Wilson. **msk**

AIN'T MISBEHAVIN'

Original Cast (RCA)
The original cast recording of this musical review, a showcase for the songs of Fats Waller, is as exceptional as the show itself, which won the Tony Award as the Best Musical in 1977. Wal-



Red Garland

ler's stride piano style is vividly recreated and accompanied by remarkable vocal performances by the entire cast, especially award winners Armelia McQueen and Nell Carter. "Your Feet's Too Big" and "Mean to Me" are just two highlights on this two-record set. **msk**

RED ALERT

Red Garland (Galaxy)
After over a decade of semi-retirement, pianist Garland returns to recording in a straight-ahead sextet/quartet context not unlike the Miles Davis/John Coltrane sessions he played on 20 years ago. His lush chords and lilting solos clearly inspire his sidemen (including Nat Adderly, trumpet, Harold Land and Ira Sullivan, tenor) to strong performances. **dr**

WATERFALL RAINBOW

David Friesen (Inner City)
Elegant contemporary chamber music—jazz flights with a classical touch. Guitars, oboe, flute and french horn give warm, airy embodiment to the graceful (and

relentlessly romantic) compositions of Friesen, whose magnificently resonant acoustic bass playing is a marvel of controlled passion. **dr**

GOLIATH

David Schnitter (Muse)
An impressive album by the versatile young tenor player from Art Blakey's current "Jazz Messengers." Schnitter's hard-edged tone is reminiscent of Dexter Gordon, but he has his own energetic and interesting ideas about how to construct a long solo. **dr**

HUMAN EMOTIONS

David Allan Coe (Columbia)
Coe, country music's most roguish renegade, graphically chronicles the peak and decline of his recent marriage in *Human Emotions*. Subdivided into a "Hap-



David Allan Coe

py Side" and "Su-I-Cide," the album opens with Coe's best-known and most optimistic composition, "Would You Lie With Me (In a Field of Stone)," only to close with an embittered "Suicide." Coe's vocals are impassioned as ever, and the album never gets too bogged down in "concept" to work independently of it. **cb**

JOHNNY MCLAUGHLIN—ELECTRIC GUITARIST

John McLaughlin (Columbia)
Stepping back from his recent Eastern-acoustic mode and shed-

ding the "Mahavishnu" mantle for this return to his roots, McLaughlin offers a primer in high-energy jazz-rock fusion. "Johnny's" soaring guitar is set against such powerhouse players as Chick Corea, Jack Bruce, Santana and Billy Cobham. Though without the sustained burning tension of earlier Mahavishnu Orchestra work, this should please fusion fans and surprise a few cynics. **dr**

SKULL WARS

The Pirates (Warner Bros.)
The Pirates (Mike Green, Johnny Spence and Frank Farley) are the oldest surviving British rock band of all (dating back to 1959 with late vocalist Johnny Kidd). The years have done nothing to bury their r&b roots in commercial veneer; a remake of Kidd's "Shakin' All Over," plus a handful of solid originals, present a raw urgency. **cb**

I LOVE MY LIFE

Jim Post (Mountain Railroad)
This is the first successful album by a Midwest coffeehouse troubador, produced with careful attention to Post's engaging tenor. **cb**

Video

DOWN TO THE WIRE

Long Island Video Ensemble
P.O. Box 568, Stonybrook, NY 11790

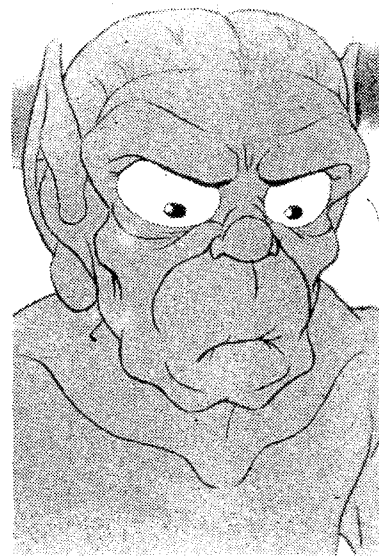
Fast-paced, informative video documentary on the anti-nuclear struggle in New York's Long Island. It shows anti-nuke activists, farmers, fishermen, politicians, lawyers and citizens at state hearings, at rallies, and at Seabrook, as they work to halt construction of three nuclear power plants. Testimony by well-known experts such as Dr. Helen Caldecott, Dr. Ernest Sternglass, and Dr. Marvin Resnikoff of the Sierra Club, increases the film's usefulness for educational and organizing purposes. **mh**

Movies

THE LORD OF THE RINGS

(United Artists)
So long awaited that Hobbit fans have probably moved on to hot tubs and Calistoga water; maybe their kids will go, though. Unless they've read the book they may

not understand it. It's 100 minutes of exposition, an animated illustration to the book. Cartooning is surprisingly dull, for the man who drew such sinister urban images in *Fritz the Cat* and *Heavy Traffic*; Hobbits are pudgy kids, elves resemble prep school boys, the women are blonde Disney-fairy cliches. Bad guys suffer from Bakshi's "new" animation technique (drawing over live footage); they're murky images, and battle scenes end up merely a large moving smudge. The film ends halfway through the trilogy; as we left Frodo at the entrance to Mordor, groans were heard at my screening. **pa**



The ring's evil power poisons Gollum's life in *THE LORD OF THE RINGS*.

PARADISE ALLEY

(Universal)
A mess of surreal magnitude. Crossing the Bowery Boys with Damon Runyon, the plot takes the Carboni brothers through their escape from Hell's Kitchen by way of the youngest brother's wrestling (as Kid Salami). Sylvester Stallone produced, directed, sang the theme song, and starred in it, as well as writing the script from his own novel. When he was done he let Universal process the color film. Both parties need help. There's spikey street dialog, and some sweetly comic moments, but no coherent whole to contain it. It takes forever to get off the ground, and the last half hour looks like a *Rocky* replay. **tb**

Contributions by Bruce Dancis, Michael S. Kimmel, Derk Richardson, Cary Baker, Marge Harrison, Tom Baglien, Pat Aufderheide.

CLASSIFIED

FOR SALE

POLAROID HALFTONES! Instant Paste-Up Photographs for Offset Printing. Illustrated Report, Informative Screen Brochure and Order Form, \$3.50. Bloomingville Grant-Society, Box 561, South Bloomingville, OH 43152.

"ZONING"—Jazz pianist MARY LOU WILLIAMS' outstanding LP: \$6.75 postpaid. Free catalog of RECORDS & TAPES BY WOMEN—over 150 reviews. Two stamps appreciated. Ladyslipper Music, #11T, PO Box 3124, Durham, NC 27705.

"SHE COMBINES political awareness with a rare sense of optimism and hope, and makes an effort to bring home the big issues in personal terms. An accomplished singer and songwriter" (Boston REAL PAPER). Joanna Cazden: HATCHING on Sister Sun Records. \$6.60 ppd. from Olivia Records, 2662 Harrison, Oakland, CA 94612.

MAKE YOUR OWN: Easy to follow instructions to make THC, PCP, cocaine, meth and all others. Send a buck for complete descriptive brochure. M&M Enterprises, P.O. Box 691-IT, Saginaw, MI 48606.

EVENTS

HEARST STRIKE 40TH ANNIVERSARY REUNION—Chicago, Sat., Dec. 2, Midland Hotel. Strike films, slides, literature. Write: Gerald Minkinen, Exec. Dir., Chicago Newspaper Guild, 230 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago, IL 60601 or call Henry Wineberg, (312) 675-3222. We need names and addresses of other strikers against the Chicago Herald & Examiner and the Chicago American.

IN NEW YORK—Dec. 1 Radical History Forum. David Noble on "The Politics of Machine Design: A New Challenge for Labor." John Jay College, 445 West 59 St., NYC. 7:30 pm.

BOSTON READERS—Robert Meeropol, son of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, will speak on "Justice on Trial: The Rosenberg Case Re-examined" in Godard Chapel, Tufts University, Somerville, Wednesday, Nov. 29, 8 pm.

HELP WANTED

STUDENTS—Promote IN THESE TIMES and make extra money for

yourself by selling subscriptions on commission. Call or write Circulation Dept., ITT, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622—(312) 489-4444.

FUNDRAISER WANTED—Quest: A feminist quarterly, (a 501 (C)(3) organization), is looking for a fundraiser who can work on a commissioned basis. In its fifth year, QUEST is an independent journal publishing feminist theory and political analysis. Join us in a unique work experience. Our only requirement is enthusiasm! Contact: Alexa Freeman, P.O. Box 8843, Washington, DC 20003, (202) 293-1347.

JOB OPENING: Executive Director, Nuclear Information and Resource Service (NIRS). NIRS is a national energy information clearinghouse, providing resources and services to local anti-nuclear and safe energy groups. Applicants should have managerial experience, a strong background in energy issues, writing skills, and fundraising experience. Salary: \$12,000-\$18,000. Send resume IMMEDIATELY to: NIRS, 1536 Sixteenth St., NW, Washington, DC 20036.

P/T or F/T organizer, to travel in Connecticut, talk with progressive groups of all kinds, explore possibilities for united front; also edit and produce newsletter. Political, community or union experience in Connecticut/So. New England desirable. Fundraising ability a plus. Salary negotiable. Write or call Louis Zemel, Unity on the Left, Powder Ridge, Middlefield, CT 06455; or (203) 349-3454.

LITERARY INTERESTS

WRITERS—Your literary property, fiction or non-fiction, could be represented by a flourishing Literary Agency. High percentage of placements, all categories. For further information write PETER MILLER AGENCY, 1021 Sixth Ave., NY, NY 10018.

ADVERTISE in Gleanings Magazine. Only 30¢ a word. Box 5842TT, High Point, NC 27262. Sample for stamp.

PUBLICATIONS

HEALTH ACTIVISTS' DIGEST Socialist perspective on critical health issues. One year's sub for \$3.00.

NAM Health Commission, 19920 Lichfield, Detroit, MI 48221.

MOVING TOWARD A NEW SOCIETY—Analysis, vision, strategy for a decentralized, democratic and caring social order. \$4.20. Also—RESOURCE MANUAL FOR A LIVING REVOLUTION—the Movement's most complete "how-to-do-it" manual. 368 pp. \$5.70. MOVEMENT FOR A NEW SOCIETY, 4722 Baltimore Ave., Box AA, Philadelphia, PA, 19143.

IN CHICAGO

The Midwest's largest selection of Marxist and leftwing books and periodicals. Many titles in Spanish & German. 20% discount on all new books. Mail inquiries are welcome. Tel. (312) 525-3667 11 to 7:30 p.m., 6 days

Guild Bookstore
1118 W. Armitage
Chicago, Ill. 60614

CLASSIFIED RATES:
25¢ PER WORD PREPAID



Steve Cogan

A RUMOR OF WAR

By Philip Caputo
Ballantine, 1978, \$2.25

BETTER TIMES THAN THESE

By Winston Groom
Summit Books, 1978, \$10.95

DISPATCHES

By Michael Herr
Avon, 1978, \$3.95

A FEW GOOD MEN

By Tom Suddick
Avon, 1978, \$1.95

FIELDS OF FIRE

By James Webb
Prentice Hall, 1978, \$9.95

Near the beginning of Winston Groom's novel, *Better Times Than These*, the Colonel briefs his officers about the operation which they are to take part in when they reach Vietnam. The operation is called, appropriately, "Western Movie," and he reminds his officers, "in this operation we will be the pursuers, not the pursued. What we will pursue is asses...the same asses the Seventh Cavalry has pursued for one hundred years.... Whenever they have been pursued by the Seventh Cavalry, these asses begin to shit, and the Seventh Cavalry has followed the smell and kicked the last remaining ounce of shit out of them."

Groom's choice of the Seventh Cavalry could hardly have been made without a trace of irony. The Seventh's most illustrious alumnus, General Custer, made military history by being in the wrong place at the wrong time. Groom himself was a lieutenant in the U.S. Army who served in Vietnam for two years. His book carries the endorsements of Willie Morris and Irwin Shaw, and is dedicated to that other novelist of combat: James Jones.

It is easy to see why it should be both endorsed by and dedicated to those men. It is a sprawling old-fashioned war novel, with some slight concessions made to the '60s. Frank Holden is a scion of a rich family; his girlfriend leaves him for an older man, a leader of the anti-war movement. The other major character is a Jew from the South, Billy Kahn, who becomes the sole survivor to come home and witness the futility of it all. There are maniacal

officers sending under-equipped units out to meet incomprehensible objectives; "lifers" too numb to resist irrational authority; men so twisted by combat that they rape and kill two teenage girls who may or may not be Vietcong.

Yet despite all this, Groom is not able to show us anything of import. The characters move as though in a fog, and even a climactic moment such as Lieut. Kahn admitting to the court martial that he ignored first reports of the rape and murder because he didn't want to hear it is lost on the reader. The same fog that has presumably swallowed Kahn's moral sense swallows everything else.

Groom's book was followed in publication by another, *Fields of Fire* by James Webb. Webb, too, served in Vietnam in the Marines and his book follows the same path as Groom's, with certain differences. Webb's characters are drawn sharper and clearer. They are tough city kids turned jungle killers, hillbilly crackshots and high school running back war heroes; Webb gives them an element of sympathy that was lacking from Groom's novel.

Webb touches on several things that Groom is unable to grapple with. He draws clearly a historical curse of war on American men. His main character, Lieut. Hodges, is from a family that lost a man in almost every U.S. war. The father died in WW II, the grandfather in WWI and several died in Pickett's Charge at Gettysburg (the last-ditch Confederate lunge at fortified Northern positions). Pickett's Charge hangs on through the book as an echo.

Webb also addresses the issue of atrocities more boldly than Grooms. Two Vietnamese civil-

ians are killed after the discovery of two dead comrades buried under their hut. While the killings are cold-blooded, they are committed by men we have come to know. The killing has its sequel; the unit encounters in a cemetery a little girl who smilingly leads them into an ambush that kills almost all of them.

Near the end of the book, the survivor of the massacre tells two anti-war activists that if he could go back and find the little girl he would kill her. If they had been there, he says, they would feel the same way. The statement shocks both protesters but it is true to the reactions of the men who exist in a world where the only value is survival.

Both books point out some of the difficulty in writing about Vietnam. On the one hand it is the war no one wants to remember, the one we "lost"; on the other hand, it is the one no one can forget.

Vietnam appears to defeat the popular novelist's best intentions. Where is the logic in Vietnam? As honestly as an author tries to portray the intentions of those who seriously believed in the war, they come out sounding like "Operation Western Movie" and their words as ridiculous as those spoken by the Colonel on the troop ship.

At least two writers have foregone the attempt at constructing a coherent view and aimed simply at conveying the absurdity and horror involved. Tim O'Brien's novel, *Going After Ciaciatto*, is probably a classic of the fears and fantasies of men at war. O'Brien starts with the simple idea of a man deserting from his unit, seen through the eyes of one of the squad members they go after him, through

hundred mile long tunnels staffed by NLF members who aren't sure what year it is, through Burma to Iran and finally to the streets of Paris, where the peace talks are underway.

In reality, though, the whole novel is taking place within the fevered brain of the soldier who first found Ciaccato's belongings. For O'Brien the war is so horrible that he can only depict it by moving away from it and showing what men who had been there would think about the world.

Tom Suddick wrote an under-appreciated book of short stories about Vietnam called *A Few Good Men*. Suddick's G.I.s are liars, pimps, torturers and frightened to death. They do not ride through mortar attacks, they "John Wayne" it; when their stereo tabs run out they rip out plastic explosive from Claymore mines and use that to heat the coffee. In between they talk. A newcomer who has difficulty riding out the barrage is told: "Being vulnerable makes you, at any second, as old as you might ever be." Few of Suddick's men live to be very old at all.

Yet Vietnam still seems to elude the writer's grasp. At most there are fleeting references to it, vignettes drawn as though from the movies, or television or the morning paper. This is not accidental. Vietnam was, more than any war before it, a media war. Journalists and cameramen went everywhere, on search-and-destroy missions, in F-105s dropping napalm, and to remote fire-bases in the highlands. When Saigon exploded in April 1968 into the Tet Offensive there were network cameras on hand to record the seige of the American embassy. It is, perhaps, not an accident that the books that tell us the

most about the experience of fighting in Vietnam are written by journalists.

Philip Caputo was sent back to Vietnam as a reporter, and when he later reflected on the atrocities, he remarked: "Out there, lacking restraints, sanctioned to kill, confronted by a hostile country and a relentless enemy we sank into a brutish state. The descent could be checked only by the net of a man's inner moral values.... There were a few ...who had no net and plunged all the way down."

Michael Herr spent several years in Vietnam as a correspondent for *Esquire*. In his book, *Dispatches*, he commented on the same phenomenon Caputo had mentioned, using the trained eye of the professional journalist: "People retreated into positions of hard irony, cynicism, despair, some saw the action and declared for it, only heavy killing could make them feel so alive. And some just went insane, followed the blacklight arrow around the bend and took possession of the madness that had been waiting in trust there for them for eighteen or twenty-five or fifty years. Every time there was combat you had a license to go maniac.... they hardly noticed if you forgot to snap back again."

Herr's book has received a great deal of press, most of it favorable and deservedly so. He has been honest enough to admit that part of the war was a game, an adventure. This was what most of the anti-war movements failed to comprehend for so long and what most reporters and veterans knew instinctively.

Herr is able, without glorifying it, to give voice to that aspect of the war. He says of Vietnam: "There was such a dense concentration of American energy there, American and essentially adolescent, if that energy could have been channelled into anything more than noise, waste and pain it would have lighted up Indochina for a thousand years." There can be no deeper understanding of the war without confronting that.

—Richard Greenfield
Richard Greenfield is a free-lance writer in Berkeley.

BOOKS

Vietnam novels: Waist deep in the Big Muddy

FIRST, the new face on the court.

No, you're not seeing things. There are 13 men out there.

The National Basketball Association (NBA) has added a referee and eliminated hand checking in an attempt to avoid a repeat of last year's violence-marred season.

So far, it seems to be working. There have been no major incidents and the number of fouls called is up only slightly.

But the victim is the defense, as scores have begun to soar. And the top players seem more unstoppable than ever.

Here, in predicted order of finish, is a look at the league as it now stands.

EASTERN DIVISION

1. Philadelphia 76ers

With the breakup of the Lloyd Free-George McGinnis passing restraint monopoly, Doctor Julius Erving can go into his act and Darryl Dawkins can emerge as an offensive force commensurate with his girth and might (not to be confused with Gerth and Mills).

The 76ers will be stronger with defensive standout Bobby Jones and rookie Maurice Cheeks.

2. New York Knickerbockers

For once, the somnolent Knick front office has acquitted itself by acquiring shot-blocking Marvin "The Eraser" Webster, unselfish in the mold of Bill Russell and Bill Walton.

Spencer Haywood will also add to rebuilding the team game. Now, if only they had sent Bob McAdoo to the Sonics instead of Lonnie Shelton.

They'll be kept from going any higher by a glaring weakness at small forward.

3. Washington Bullets

Last year's aging world champs won't look pretty in the regular season. But they'll be dangerous in the playoffs.

Elvin Hayes, Wes Unseld, Greg Ballard and Mitch Kupchack will be waiting in the wings to join the mountain of muscle on the league's best rebounding team.

But there are doubts about Phil Chenier's future in the back court.

4. New Jersey Nets

Keven Loughery's genius has shaped a collection of sometime schoolyard troublemakers into a hustling, unselfish ballclub.

Assuming Wilson Washington's development up front and consistent scoring from John Williamson and Bernard King, they'll beat the Celtics or a big money club for a playoff spot.

5. Boston Celtics

Chicken franchise man John Y. Brown has covered the Celtic green with Kentucky fried batter with the acquisition of perpetually injured Tiny Archibald, the injured Billy Knight and troubled Marvin Barnes.

With John Havlicek gone, things will be dismal unless Dave Cowens recovers his enthusiasm.

CENTRAL DIVISION

1. Houston Rockets

Moses Malone is ready to emerge as a great NBA center. Then there's the addition of Rick Barry. And with Rudy Tomjanovich, Calvin Murphy and Mike Newlin, Houston is probably the best shooting team in the league.

There are defensive and rebounding deficiencies and shall

low depth, however.

2. San Antonio Spurs

Christmas may come early in San Antonio if James Silas can get back in his ABA all-star form. Even without him, San Antonio's potent offense is one of the best in the league, even if their defense is a bit porous.

Shooters like George Gervin should benefit from the new hand-checking rule.

Robinson may make for a few exciting evenings.

But, otherwise, the Jazz is as mediocre as Atlanta.

6. Detroit Pistons

Hardworking Motor City residents deserve better than this utterly incompetent bunch.

Bob Lanier is a remarkably skilled center, but he can't run hard for more than 20 minutes a game. The rest of the Pistons are

Paul Westphal, Walter Davis and company are likely to win again in the rough playoffs.

3. Seattle Superersonics

Marvin Webster's move to New York will hurt.

But Lonnie Shelton will be a plus and, once again, Lenny Wilkens can expect to overshadow team weaknesses with his genius, particularly at small forward using a scrambling defense and fast-break offense.

4. Los Angeles Lakers

This may come as news to some, but Kareem Abdul-Jabbar is one of the game's most over-rated players.

He's agile and a good shooter. But he doesn't dominate the boards or clog the middle well.

5. Golden State Warriors

Alvin Attles is a tremendous coach. But the team will need galvanizing by the inspired floor play of pro tennis star John Lucas.

6. San Diego Clippers

San Diego's big backcourt guns are Randy Smith and Lloyd "All World" Free. With Sidney Wicks at forward and Free at guard, any assists are likely to be accidental.

Coach Gene Shue is not expected to win after coming from the Philadelphia frying pan to the San Diego fire.

MID WEST DIVISION

1. Denver Nuggets

Denver figures to run away with the title in the league's weakest division.

George McGinnis gives the team muscle it needs to make up for Dan Issel's weakness at center. But there are no legitimate guards or centers in the Denver starting lineup. Who will pass to whom when shooters like David Thompson, Issel, Anthony Roberts and Scott Denver are on the court together?

Denver will get creamed in the playoffs.

2. Milwaukee Bucks

Marques Johnson is one of the league's best.

But his broad shoulders and heady play may not move the Bucks unless Kent Benson and Ernie Grunfeld do their part.

Norm Van Lier may stabilize the team, although his style may be cramped by the hand-checking rules.

3. Indiana Pacers

The backcourt talent of Rick Sobers and Johnny Davis may not make up for managerial musical chair games with the roster.

The future up front is with rookie Rick Robey and second-year men Alex English and James Edwards. But they need a small forward like the dearly departed Adrian Dantley and Billy Knight.

4. Kansas City Kings

Deadly second-year man Otis Birdson and late signing Phil Ford give the Kings what may become the game's best backcourt.

The problem is a bantam-weight front line with Tom Burleson, Sam Lacey and Richard Washington.

5. Chicago Bulls

Lawrence Welk has more pizzazz.

How much can you fall back on gentle giant Artis Gilmore?

Without help from his teammates, like rookies Reggie Theus and a revived Scott May, the Bulls may wind up in the cellar. ■



READING THE COURTS

1978 NBA PREDICTIONS

BY MARK NAISON

3. Cleveland Cavaliers

An old and stable team with weaknesses in speed and depth, Cleveland is bidding against Chicago to be the NBA's dullest.

They depend too much on the shooting of Campy Russell, but some help may come from an improved Terry Furlow.

4. Atlanta Hawks

Hubie Brown's press darlings play tough defense, diving lower for loose balls than their salaries.

But that won't make up for a lack of talent.

Only John Drew and rookie playmaker Dan Roundfield can hope to get an NBA starting job elsewhere.

If they can make the playoffs by wearing out their unwary competition, they'll go down fast.

5. New Orleans Jazz

Pete Maravich's scoring and the all-around brilliance of Truck

either inexperienced, over the hill or so entranced by what they see as their "greatness" that they forget to pass the ball. That means chaos and probably the unemployment line for coach Dick Vitale.

PACIFIC DIVISION

1. Portland Trailblazers

That's IF Bill Walton returns. The rich get richer with rookies Mychal Thompson and Ron Brewer.

But the Portland trainers are being blamed for the injuries of Lloyd Neal, Dave Twardzik, Lionel Hollins, Larry Steel, Bobby Gross and Maurice Lucas.

2. Phoenix Suns

A great shooting team, they could win on speed and scrambling defense alone. But even a healthy Alvan Adams won't give them the rebounding muscle to beat Portland.